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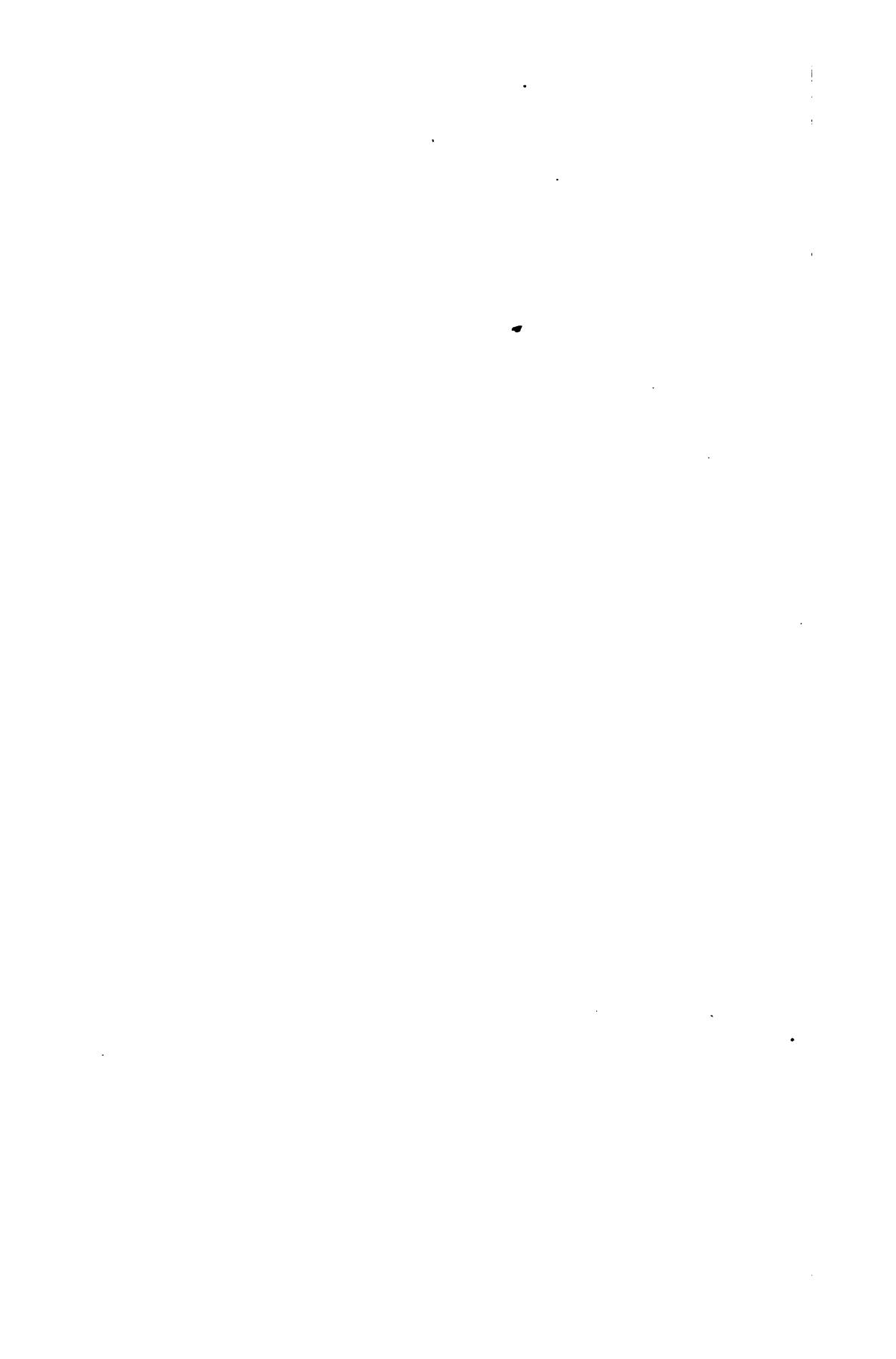


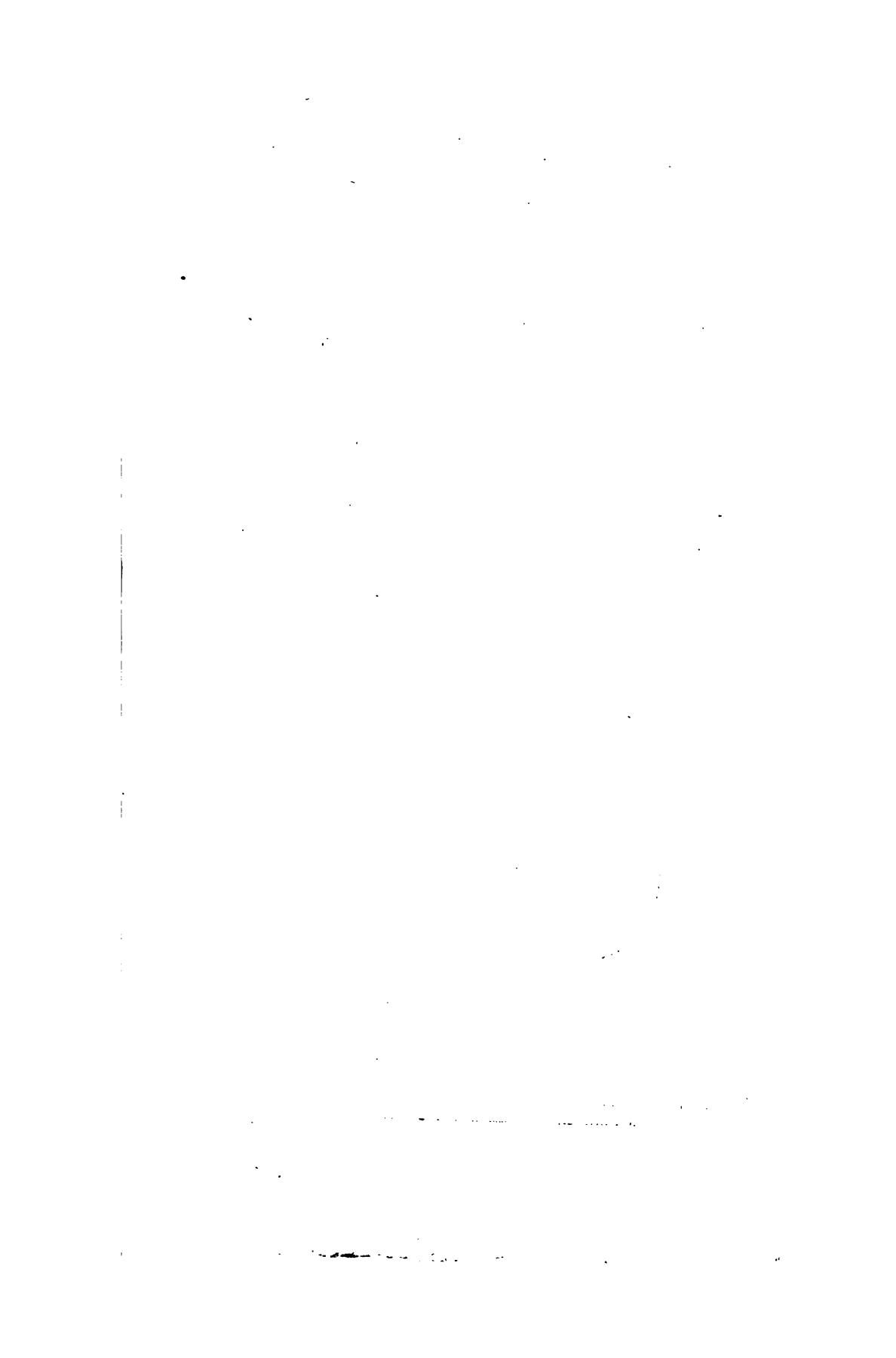


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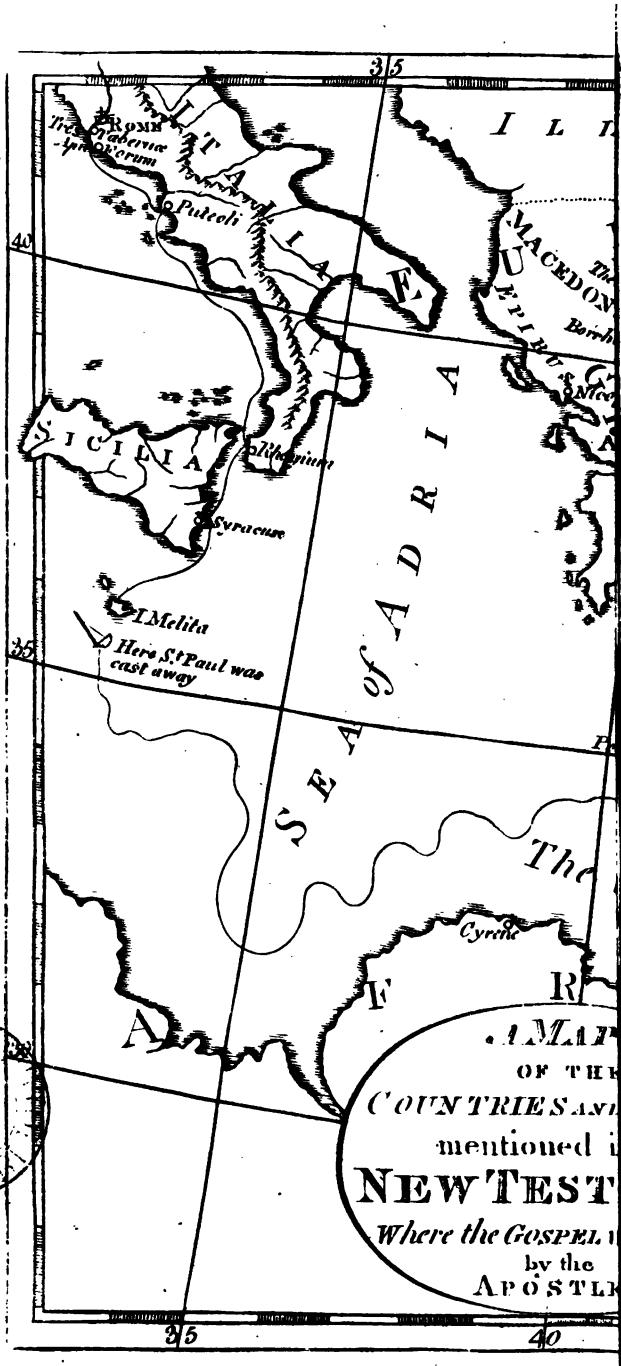
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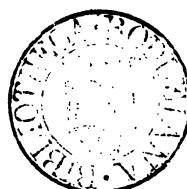
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THE
PROGRESS
OF
CHRISTIANITY,
(Historical and Chronological;)
FROM ITS FIRST
PROMULGATION AT JERUSALEM,
TO ITS LEGAL
ESTABLISHMENT under CONSTANTINE:
Also, A SKETCH OF THE PRIMITIVE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.
With Notes,
GEOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL.

BY THOMAS WOOD.

We preach CHRIST crucified:—CHRIST the power of God, and
the wisdom of God. PAUL.



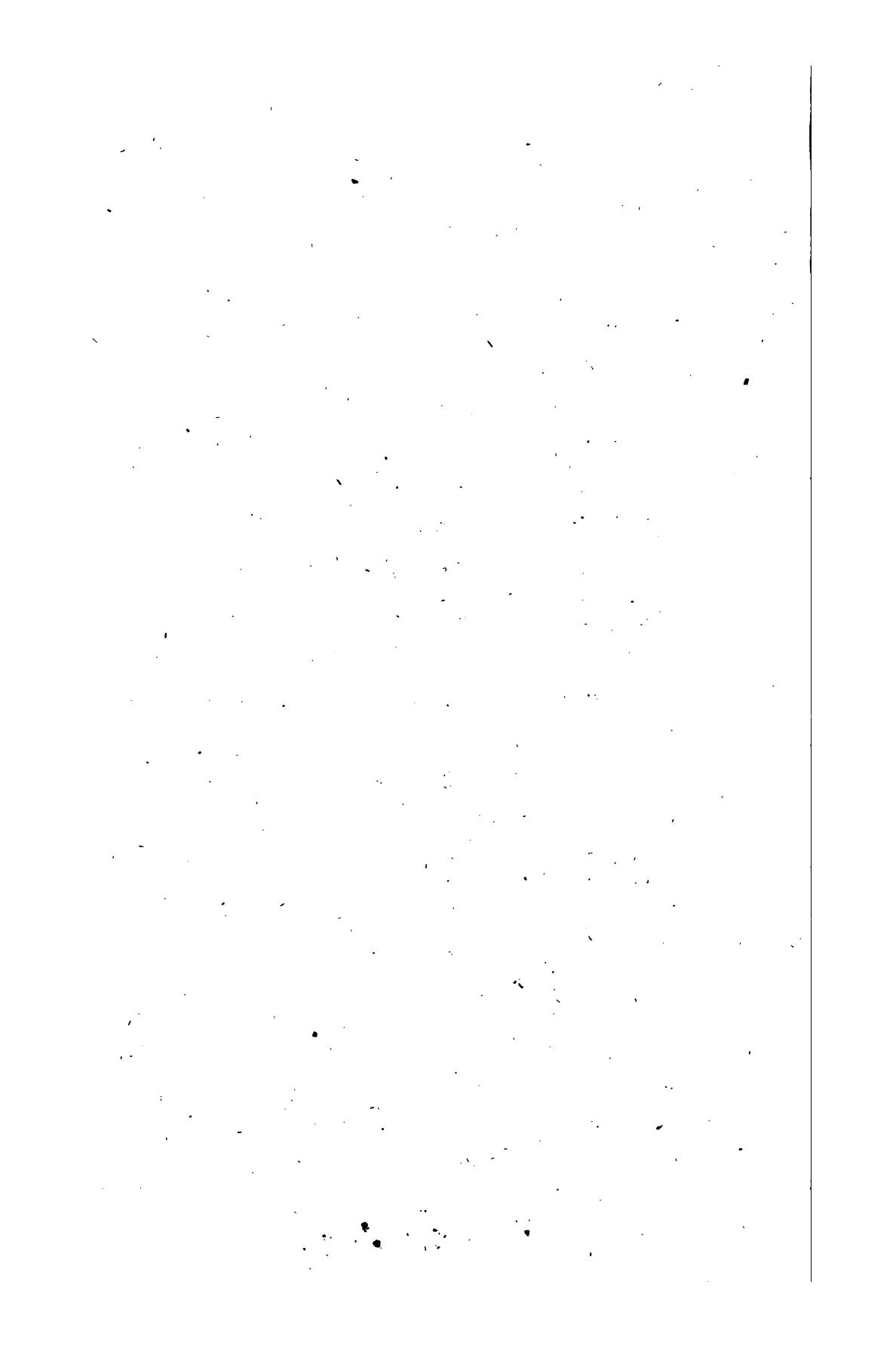
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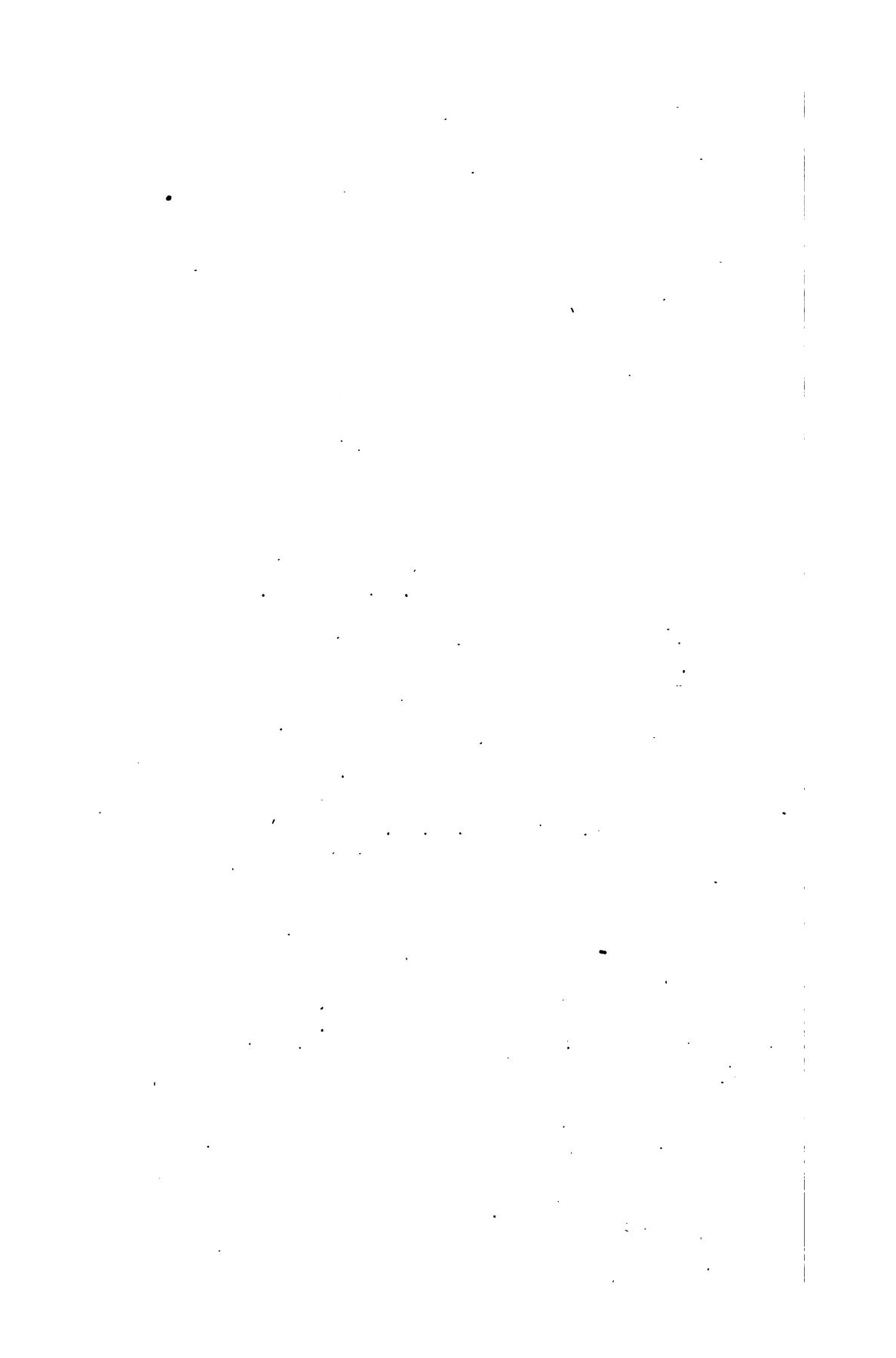
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Preface.

—♦♦♦—

SINCE the Public very justly claims the privilege of deciding for itself, on every production that excites its attention, the submissions and excuses, usual on publication, are of little importance:—the Author, therefore, means to say nothing more, by way of Apology, than that he presents this performance to the world, trusting, as it is composed with soberness and truth, it will be read with attention and candour.

The great utility of a work of this description, (nothing on the same plan, it is presumed, being extant,) induced him to engage in it; and the congeniality of the subject with the ministerial character, has rendered it a pleasing employment of the time he could spare, from his more immediate labours in the Vineyard of Christ. It is the province of the Christian Minister to unfurl the banner of the Cross, display the bond of Love which unites Christians, repel the insidious attacks of Infidels, and proclaim the whole Truth as it is in Jesus.

Though the arrangement is new, those who are familiar with Theological writings may have met with much of the information interspersed in the following sheets; the absolute necessity of having recourse to foreign assistance in such an undertaking being obvious. The authorities used are noticed with care; but the quotations are not marked, because of the style being frequently altered, while the ideas are retained.

No subject can be more gratifying to the Christian, than to read of the astonishing displays of the wisdom, love, and power of God, as exhibited in *the REDEMPTION and SALVATION of mankind by JESUS CHRIST!* As this contains an unparalleled view of the Divine perfections, it is the highest subject of finite comprehension, and consequently has the first claim to our regard. The *Book* which reveals it, is grand in its ideas, sublime in its doctrines, holy in its precepts; and established, by the accomplishment of its predictions, the irrefragable evidence of its miracles, and the character of its writers. In short, this design of the Supreme Being, so wonderful in its contrivance, benevolent in its nature, and beneficial in its consequences, is intended to counteract the evil of sin, and restore his lapsed creatures to his favour and moral image.

The Work commences with a description of the degenerate state of religion among the Jews,

also of the irrational Polytheism of the Heathen, when Christ visited the World to redeem and save Mankind. It proceeds in tracing the rapid and extensive Progress of the Christian faith; showing the assiduity and perseverance of the Apostles and their immediate Successors, and developing the Causes of their amazing success. Herein the Reader may behold Light break forth, with effulgent ray, in a benighted age, when the veil of darkness had obscured the eyes of all denominations of men.—The approximate view of the PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, what it really was, may assist him to distinguish between truth and error, and to conclude, from just premises, what Christians in any age ought to be, in their principles, experience, and practice.

In the course of the Work are described, the evil propensities of human nature;—the riches of Divine grace in Christ;—the character of an Evangelical Minister of the Gospel;—the efficacy of the Christian religion, when faithfully preached;—the efforts of Devils, also of wicked men, acting under the pernicious influence of prejudice or malevolence of heart, to oppose the dissemination of religious truth; and the amiable tempers, upright conversation, and holy actions of regenerate Christians.—Useful criticism is not altogether excluded, certain emphatical words in the *New Testament* being particularly noticed.—While it is calcu-

lated for the adult Christian ; it is hoped, the Historical Narrative, Geographical Description, Chronological Order, and Variety of Incident, will render it acceptable and edifying to the rising Generation.

Having enlarged some parts considerably more than was intended, the Remarks on the Revival of Religion, in the present Day, (as mentioned in the Proposals,) are omitted; but as it is probable a *second volume* will, at a future day, accompany this, they will be brought forward, with other important particulars.

The Author cannot conclude, without gratefully acknowledging the very liberal and respectable patronage with which he has been favoured; and, at the close of the second volume, intends giving the Names of the Subscribers.



THE
PROGRESS of CHRISTIANITY, &c.

Of the State of the Jews and the Heathen, when Christ came into the World to redeem and save Mankind.

All truth is from the semipertoral source
Of light divine. But Egypt, Greece, and Rome,
Drew from the stream below.
In vain they pushed inquiry to the birth
And spring-time of the world; asked, Whence is man?
Why formed at all? and wherefore as he is?
Where must he find his Maker? with what rites
Adore him? Will he hear, accept, and bless?
Or does he sit regardless of his works?
Has man within him an immortal seed?
Or does the tomb take all? If he survive
His ashes, where? and in what weal or woe?
Kaots worthy of solution, which alone
A Deity could solve. Their answers, vague
And all at random, fabulous and dark,
Left them as dark themselves. Their rules of life
Defective and unsanctioned, proved too weak
To bind the roving appetite, and lead
Blind nature to a God not yet revealed.

COWPER'S TALE.

THE rapid and extensive Progress of the Christian Religion, on its first promulgation, when all the circumstances which attended it are duly considered, was a remarkable phenomenon, and is a subject which deserves to be particularly noticed, and its real causes traced out, both by the doubting Sceptic and the philosophical Unbeliever, as well as by the serious Christian.

The coming of the Messiah into the world, and the grace that should attend it, had long been the ennobling theme of prophecy: and the Prophets inquired, and searched diligently, what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow*.

* 1 Pet. i. 10, 11.

At the time Christ came, he was earnestly wished, and confidently expected by the nation of the Jews. And that expectation was so much divulged abroad, that two Heathen historians, Suetonius and Tacitus, have inserted it in their writings, as a thing worthy of remark. "Many," says Tacitus, "had a persuasion that it was contained in the ancient writings of the priests, that at that very time the east should prevail, and that some descendant from Judah should obtain the universal government*." "An old and constant opinion," says Suetonius, "commonly prevailed through all the east, that it was in the fates, that some one should rise out of Judea who should obtain the government of the world †." I suppose Tacitus means, by the ancient writings of the priests, the writings and prophecies of the Old Testament: and the "East" is one of the names given the Messiah, and which we render the Branch ‡.

And Suetonius tells us farther, that the belief and expectation of this among the Jews was so great at that time, that it caused them to rebel against the Romans. And this expectation, which was so general, fired Herod with such jealousy and rage, upon the wise men's coming from the east, and inquiring, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? that he attempted to destroy the heavenly babe, at the expence of the lives of so many infants.-----When Christ appeared, he set up a kingdom spiritual in its nature, equitable in its laws, unexampled in its privileges, happy in its subjects, wide in its extent, and perpetual in its duration.

The three grand monarchies of the world, the Assyrian, the Persian, and the Grecian, were subsided; and the fourth, which was the Roman, and greater than all the rest, succeeded, and, under Augustus Cæsar, was arrived at the summit of its strength and glory. The Roman empire, after existing for several hundred years as a commonwealth, was reduced to a monarchy. Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, three of the greatest men in Rome, had agreed to support each other, and

* Tacit. Hist. c. 5, p. 62.

† Suet. in Vesp. c. 4.

‡ Zach. vi. 12.

to divide the government of the empire among themselves. As long as Crassus lived, he balanced the power between the other two; but, at his demise, they began to rival each other, and neither of them would be satisfied with less than the whole. Pompey could not bear an equal, nor Cæsar a superior; and, therefore, they raised a civil war, in which Pompey was conquered by Julius Cæsar, at Pharsalia. Pompey went into Egypt, where he was basely put to death by the officers of the young Ptolemy, the last king of Egypt, A. M. 3956, ante A. D. 48.

Julius Cæsar was a man of boundless ambition, and of an artful address; and had, by his valour abroad, and generosity and insinuating manners at home, gained the esteem of almost all descriptions of men. He first aspired to the consular dignity, and then to the dictatorship, or supreme power, which, though he was successful in gaining, he did not long hold; for, after three years and a half, some leading men among the Romans, who resented his enslaving a free people, stabbed him publicly in the senate house.

Octavius Cæsar succeeded him in the empire. He was the son of Accia, the sister of Julius Cæsar, who, by his will, had made him his adopted son. After various struggles and sharp contests, more particularly with Mark Antony, he obtained the supreme power; which he held for upwards of forty years: and, upon the whole, behaved like a good prince; considering the absolute power of which he was possessed, and the great corruption and wickedness of the times*. Octavius had told the senate, that he never intended to hold the sovereign authority, nor had received it with any other view than to revenge the murder of Cæsar†, and to deliver Rome from the continual calamities to which it was exposed. A civil war, which lasted thirty years, had occasioned great miseries, and much reduced the number of the citizens of Rome: they afterwards increased, by several laws, particularly the Julian law for

* Benson's History of the First Planting of Christianity, v. 1, p. 183, 184.

† *Cæsar* was a name common to the emperors, as *Pharaoh*, and afterwards *Ptolemy*, to the Egyptians.

the encouragement of matrimony*. Ten days before he obtained the name of Augustus, the senate had given him the title of Prince, and, with it, the government of the Republic for ten years. Many before him had been called Princes of the Senate, but no person had ever been styled Prince, as if he alone were Prince of the Republic and the Roman People. He received the surname of Augustus the 17th of January, in the year of Rome 727; some time previous to which, he had made an offer of resigning the government to the senate. The name Augustus was given him, to express his grandeur, majesty, and reverence; and that by the advice of Munatius Plancus; when others would have had him called Romulus, as if he were the founder of the city of Rome†.

The Jews had lost their liberty, and, for several years, been in subjection to the Romans. This subjection originated in a quarrel which happened in the

* VIRGIL, at the end of the first book of the Georgics, closes with a supplication to the gods, (according to the heathen mythology,) for the safety of Augustus, and the preservation of Rome.

Ye home-born deities, of mortal birth!
 Thou father *Romulus*, and mother Earth,
 Goddess unmov'd! whose guardian arms extend
 O'er *Thyscan Tiber's* Course, and *Roman* tow'rs defend;
 With youthful *Cæsar* your joint pow'r engage,
 Nor hinder him to fave a sinking age.
 O! let the blood already spilt, atone
 For the past crimes of curst *Laomedon*!
 Heav'n wants thee there; and long the gods, we know,
 Have grudg'd thee, *Cæsar*, to the world below:
 Where fraud and rapine, right and wrong confound,
 Where impious arms from every part refound,
 And monstrous crimes in ev'ry shape are crown'd.
 The peaceful peasant to the wars is prest;
 The fields lie fallow in inglorious rest:
 The plain no' pasure to the flock affords,
 The crooked icthies are straighten'd into swords:
 And there *Euphrates* her soft offspring arms,
 And here the *Rhine* rebellows with alarms;
 The neighb'ring cities range on sev'ral sides,
 Perfidious *Mars* long plighted leagues divides,
 And o'er the waled world in triumph rides.
 So four fierce coursers starting to the race,
 Scour through the plain, and lengthen ev'ry pace:
 Nor reins, nor curbs, nor threat'ning cries they fear,
 But force along the trembling chariooteer.

Dryden's Virgil.

† Sanadon's Notes on Horace's Carmen 2, ad Augustum.

Afmonean family*. Queen Alexandra, by gratifying the Pharisees, governed that kingdom peaceably nine years, from the death of her husband to the end of her own life; when her eldest son, Hyrcanus, who was of an indolent and quiet temper, succeeded to the crown. At the end of only three months, Aristobulus, his younger brother, wrested it from him. Antipater, the Idumean, and father of Herod the Great, availed himself of this, to raise new disturbances and commotions among the Jews. Alexander Jannæus, the late king of the Jews, had advanced, to the government of Idumea, the father of Antipater; who himself, having been bred in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and that of queen Alexandra, had ingratiated himself into the favour of Hyrcanus, in expectation of being advanced by him, when he should come to the crown.

On the deposition of Hyrcanus, Antipater incited him first to apply to Aretas, king of Arabia, to restore him to the kingdom; and afterwards to the Romans, to whose decision Aristobulus at first agreed to refer the matter. They both pleaded their cause before Pompey, who was at that time at Damascus; and, on his being inclined to favour Hyrcanus, Aristobulus retired, and put Jerusalem in a posture of defence. This so incensed Pompey, that he seized Aristobulus, and having laid him in chains, besieged Jerusalem.

The party of Hyrcanus opening the gates of the city to him, he laid siege to the Temple, whither the other party had retired, and after three months took it, and the castle Baris also†, which was afterwards called

* ASMONEANS, was a name given to the *Maccabees*, descendants of *Mattathias*, who, according to *Josephus*, *Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8.* was the son of *John*, the grandson of *Simon*, and great grandson of *Afmonus*. The family of the *Afmonians* became very illustrious in the later times of the *Hebrew* commonwealth; it was the support of the religion and liberty of the *Jews*; and possessed the supreme authority, from *Mattathias* to *Herod the Great*. The *Afmonians* were of the course of *Joarib*, which was the first class of the sons of *Aaron*; and, therefore, on failure of the former pontifical family (which had now happened by the flight of *Onias*, the son of *Onias*, into *Egypt*) they had the best right to succeed to that station. And, under this right, *Jonathan* took the office, when nominated to it by the then reigning king in *Syria*; being also elected thereto, by the general suffrage of the people. *Prid. Connect. &c. p. 2. book 4.*

† This tower or fortress, was originally built by the *Afmonean* princes, who called it *Baris*; but *Herod the Great*, having repaired it, changed its name, in

the *tower of Antonia*. And having put to death the chiefs of Aristobulus's faction, and demolished the walls of Jerusalem, he made Hyrcanus both high-priest and prince of the Jews; but reduced his dominions to narrower bounds, and made the kingdom tributary to the Romans. This was in the year 63 before the Christian æra, about the time of our Midsummer. Josephus, the celebrated Jewish historian, always dates the loss of their liberty from that time.

The religion of the Jews was in a deplorable state, scarcely any vestiges of its purity being left. They were divided into three sects, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Essenes*. The Pharisees had their name from the Hebrew verb *pharash*, to divide or separate, because they separated themselves from commerce with other people, from the customs and manners of the world, gave themselves to the study of the Law, and affected extraordinary sanctity of life. This sect was one of the most ancient and considerable among the Jews; but its origin is not well known. Jerome places the beginning of the Pharisees rather late, saying, they proceeded from the two famous schools of Hillel and Shammæi. It is known from Josephus*, that Shammæi, or Samæus, lived in the time of Herod the Great; consequently not long before our Saviour. The Rabbins also acknowledge Hillel, if not the founder of the sect of the Pharisees, at least as the chief ornament of it. But probably Calmet is far more accurate, who places the rise of this sect about A. M. 3820, ante A. D. 184.

The Pharisees held the writings of Moses and the Prophets to be divine. Their principal doctrines were these: 1. That the kingdom of the Messiah was an earthly one. 2. That the keeping of the Moral Law con-

honour of his friend M. Antony. It was situated towards the west angle of the temple, upon an eminence cut steep on all sides, and enclosed with a wall three hundred cubits high—It was built in the form of a large square, having within the magnificence of a palace, and the conveniences of a city; and without, several fortifications, and a tower at each corner to strengthen and defend it. So that, considering its form and situation, we may be allowed to say, that it was a citadel to the temple, even as the temple was, in some sort, a citadel to the town.

Calmet's Dictionary; and Fleury's Ecclesiastical History.

* Antiq. lib. 14, cap. 17.

fisted only in an external obedience to the letter of it. They condemned only the actual commission of sin, and thought themselves allowed to entertain evil desires, thoughts, and designs, if not attended with outward acts of sin. 3. That men were justified by the works of the law, without the obedience and mediation of Christ ; that obedience to the letter of the law was their righteousness before God, for which they were accepted of him. 4. They believed the soul to be immortal, and acknowledged the existence of angels and spirits : they admitted a kind of transmigration of the souls of good men, which might pass from one body to another ; whereas those of wicked men were condemned to dwell for ever in prisons of darkness* ; or that a soul, which had sinned in one body, might afterwards be punished in a more imperfect one. In consequence of these principles, some of the Pharisees said, that Jesus was John the Baptist, or Elias ; or one of the Prophets† ; that is, the soul of one of those great men had passed into the body of our Saviour. 5. They believed also the resurrection of the dead, and admitted all the consequences of it. Bishop BULL, in his *Harmonia Apostolica*, has clearly proved that they held a resurrection of the body, and that they supposed a certain bone ‡ to remain uncorrupted, to furnish the matter of which the resurrection body was to be formed. They did not, however, believe that all mankind were to be raised from the dead. A resurrection was the privilege of the children of Abraham alone, who were all to rise on Mount Zion ; their

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 2. & de Bello, lib. 2. cap. 12.

+ Matt. xvi. 14.

‡ In proof of the resurrection it is affirmed by them, that a bone, called Luz, seated in the back, is the principle of future life ; and that it had been demonstrated by Joshua ben Hananiah. That great rabbi took the bone Luz, and threw it into water, which did not dissolve it. He threw it into the fire, which could not consume it. He laid it on an anvil, and struck it with a sledge-hammer : the anvil was cleft, and the hammer was broken ; but Luz remained uninjured. This is one glaring instance of the absurd glosses of the Talmudists on the Hebrew Scriptures. Dr. Lightfoot has published a large collection of passages from the traditional writings of the Pharisees, under the title of *Hebrew, and Talmudical Exercitations* ; which throw a great light on our Saviour's invectives against the Pharisees. The Pharisees' corrupt commentaries on the Jewish law, have been of great use among Christians, as they throw various lights on the customs, and proverbial phrases of the Jews ; and make the Scriptures better understood. *Gilpin's Exposition of the New Test. gen. pref. p. 3, 4. second edit.*

uncorruptible bones, wherever they might be buried, being carried to that mountain below the surface of the earth*. 6. The state of future felicity, in which the Pharisees believed, was very gross : they imagined that men in the next world, as well as in the present, were to eat and drink, and enjoy the pleasures of love, each being re-united to his former wife. 7. The Pharisees seem to have had some confused notions, probably derived from the Chaldeans and Persians, respecting the pre-existence of souls ; and hence Christ's disciples asked him concerning the blind man, “ Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind†?” And Josephus, who was a pharisee, believed that the demons that possessed men, were the souls of wicked men, which entered the bodies of others, and were sometimes driven from thence by exorcisms§. 8. With the Essenes, they held absolute predestination ; and, with the Sadducees, free-will : but how they reconciled these seemingly incompatible doctrines is nowhere explained. 9. Josephus says, the Pharisees were much addicted to astrology, thinking that, by means of the stars, they might arrive at the foreknowledge of the secrets of Providence : a doctrine much exploded by judicious men. 10. But the main distinguishing character of this sect was, their predilection and zeal for the tradition of the elders ; which they precisely observed, and taught to be of equal authority with the written Law ; yea, practically, they exalted the traditions above the Law. By adding

* The Jews are directed, in the office of mourners, when they look upon the graves of any of their nation, to offer up this prayer: “ Blessed be the Lord our God, who formed you with judgment, preferred you alive; delivered you up to Death; who knows the number of you all; who will raise you up again; who will restore you with judgment: blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest life to the dead: may the dead live, with my dead body may they rise again.”

Pocok. Port. Mos.

† John ix. 2.

§ See Matt. viii. 29—31. It seems to appear not only from Josephus, and other Jewish writers, but also from the scriptures themselves, that the Jews used sometimes to cast out devils by exorcisms. I suppose these exorcisms were similar to the ancient oracles ; and were a sort of juggle, or confederacy, between them, and evil spirits ; which, before Christianity, we have much reason to believe was the case. At the same time, as the Delphic priest pretended to divine authority ; so also did the Jewish exorcist. *Gilpin's Exposition*, vol. 1. p. 44. The Talmud relates some ridiculous stories of working miracles by the *Tetragrammaton*, or the *unutterable name*; that is, by mentioning the word Jehovah.

these traditions to the law of Moses, they set aside almost the whole law of God, making that void* which was their only rule for faith and practice.

There were many superstitions and foolish rites obtruded upon the Jews, after their return from the Babylonian captivity, which were pretended to have been delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai; along with the written law; and that these, forming the traditional law, and intended as an exposition of it, were, by Moses, conveyed verbally to Joshua; by him to the Elders; by these to the Prophets; and by them to the great Sanhedrim, from whom it descended to after ages. The traditions chiefly urged by the Pharisees were, 1. That none should eat until they had washed their hands. This they made a matter of religion, and enforced the necessity of it so much, that, suppose a man had not enough of water both to drink and to wash with, he should rather wash than drink, though he immediately expired with thirst. 2. That a man must wash when he came from the market, because having there to do with divers individuals he might be polluted unawares. For fear they should have touched any unclean thing, they washed from their fingers' ends up to their very elbows†. 3. That it was unlawful to eat with sinners. They would not so much as touch a Publican, nor any man whom they supposed to lead an ill life; peremptorily refusing to eat, drink, or pray with him‡. 4. That they should fast twice in the week, on *Monday* and *Thursday*; because Moses, as they said, went up to Mount Sinai on a Thursday, and came down on a Monday. These fasts, of supererogation, they observed with greater rigour than other Jews; and upbraided our Saviour and his disciples, for eating and drinking as other men, whereas they, and the disciples of John the Baptist, fasted often§. 5. That on the Sabbath it was not allowable to heal a sick person, though Christ accomplished it by a word speaking||. They were displeased,

* Matt. xv. 6. † Mark vii. 4.

‡ Matt. xi. 11. Luke vii. 39. Thus the Pharisee in the temple stood by himself, and prayed, as a modern author has translated the passage; he would not deign to come near the Publican, for fear of pollution.—See Luke xviii. 11. Isa. lxv. 5. § Mark ii. 18. || Luke vi. 7. 8. John ix. 16.

that on this-day the sick were brought to be healed; and when a man, who had been cured of a palsy, carried his bed on the sabbath-day, the offence was unpardonable*. From all which it was concluded, Jesus Christ could not be a man sent from God, because he so little observed that profound rest, which they ostentatiously insisted was due to this day†. And numerous similar traditions were maintained, which may be seen in the Talmud; the whole subject whereof is to dictate and explain those fallacies, which this sect imposed to be believed and observed.

These traditions, that were by our Saviour censured as the mere fictions and inventions of men, and which rendered the law of God of none effect, were generally received among the Scribes and Lawyers, or Doctors of the Law, who were writers and expounders thereof; and also by a large majority of the common people, who held them in high veneration. Their zeal for the traditions of the elders was such, that they not only valued themselves more on a due observance of them, than of the law itself; but said, the written law was, in many places, obscure, scanty, and defective, and would be no perfect rule to them without the oral or traditional law; which, containing a full, complete, and perfect interpretation of all that was in the other, supplied its defects, and solved all its difficulties‡.

When our Saviour appeared in Judea, the Pharisees were in great credit among the people, because of the reputation of their learning, extraordinary sanctity, and

* John v. 8, 9. † John ix. 16.

‡ These traditions were collected into a book, which they called the Mishna. Rabbi Judah on this occasion being rector of the school at Tiberias, and president of the Sanhedrim in that place, undertook the work, says the learned Prideaux, and compiled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which altogether make up the number of sixty-three; and that the Mishna was composed towards the middle of the second century after Christ, under the Empire of Antoninus Pius. Dr. Lightfoot differs from Prideaux, and says, that Rabbi Judah compiled the Mishna about A. D. 190, in the latter end of the reign of Commodus; or, as some compute, A. D. 200. And Dr. Lardner gives it as his opinion, that this work could not have been finished before A. D. 190, or later. Thus the Mishna was formed, on which book, both the Babylonian and Jewish Talmuds are comments. The original has been published, with a Latin translation by Surenhufius; with notes of his own and others, from the learned Maimonides, &c. in six vols. fol.

exact observance of the traditions: and, in consequence of their religious demeanour, though only hypocritical pretence, it was proverbial, among the ignorant and credulous multitude, *That if two men only should enter the kingdom of heaven, one of them would be a Scribe, and the other a Pharisee.* All the vessels they used, their utensils, and very beds, were frequently plunged in water: and they even bathed themselves, by way of purification*. Their frequent fasts, long prayers, scrupulous payment of tythes, and abundant alms, were vitiated by pride, ostentation, hypocrisy, and self-love. They wore large rolls of parchment on their foreheads and wrists, on which were written certain words of the law; and affected to have fringes and borders, at the corners and hems of their garments, broader than those of other Jews, as badges of distinction, and denoting them to be more strict observers of the law than others.

Epiphanius relates surprising effects of their austeries†. Some almost deprived themselves entirely of sleep. Others laid on a plank of a foot broad, that if they slept too soundly, they might fall to the ground, and, being awakened, go to their prayers. Sharp and rugged stones, or thorns, served others for beds, that, even in their sleep, they might practise mortification. Jerome asserts‡, that some fixed thorns to the bottom of their robes; which, as they walked, might prick and draw blood from their legs; and thus familiarize such hardships, and oblige themselves to think on God. But what availed these voluntary sufferings, with Him who looks to the heart, and disapproves of that which is unsupported by his authority. This sect was not extinguished by the ruin of the Jewish commonwealth. The greater part of the modern Jews § belong to it, being, as much as their ancestors, devoted to the traditions.

* Joseph. in vita sua.

† Hæres 16.

‡ In Matt. xxiii, 27.

§ So late as the year 1798, a Jew, who had been apprehended in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, as a vagrant, and whose insolence and brutality declared him one of the lowest of his people, was very clamorous, at an early hour in the morning after his commitment, for water. "I want to wash," said he, "for I want to pray.—I cannot pray till I be washed;—and I want to pray for the Gentiles."—Though this be a solitary instance, could the greatest devotee, among the Pharisees, be more strictly ceremonious?

Thus we see what the chief sect among the Jews were, in their principles, disposition, and practice. Our Saviour termed them hypocrites; and, when his accusation is fully considered, never was the charge of hypocrisy better founded. They paid tythe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. They made clean the outside of the cup, and of the platter, but within they were full of extortion and excess. They were like unto sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful to the eye*, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so they also outwardly appeared righteous to men, doing all their works to be seen of them, but within they were full of hypocrisy and iniquity†.

The sect of the Sadducees was very different from that of the Pharisees, and had its origin as follows. Antigonus Sochaeus, a Jew, (who was born at Socho, on the borders of Judea, and flourished in the time of Eleazer the high-priest, about 300 years before Christ, and was a disciple of Simeon the Just,) often, in his lectures, inculcated on his scholars, that they ought not, as some improperly taught, to serve God, as servants do their masters, for temporal rewards, but only from principles of filial fear and love. This doctrine was misinterpreted by his followers, and extended to the

* Sepulchres in the east, Dr. Shaw tells us, are still adorned with great care.

† See Matt. xxiii. Much has been said on hypocrisy: a modern author gives the following as the origin and application of the word. Anciently masks were worn by players on the theatre, while acting their parts, to enable them to represent persons and characters, which they themselves were not. Their manner was, to put on a mask, generally over the whole head: by which means a person, whose own visage was disfigured, might wear a beautiful mask; while he himself frowned, his mask might smile; that might be complacent and serene, though his own temper was morose and peevish; or that might exhibit the character of a hero, or a deity, of Alexander, or Jupiter, while the wearer was far enough from resembling either, in form, in manners, or in attributes. If we consider a hypocrite as a person playing under a mask, we shall come pretty near to the true import of the word: " Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is HYPOCRISY: for there is nothing COVERED," veiled, masked, " that shall not be uncovered, q. unmasked—Luke xii. 1, 2, 3: and well do such counterfeits deserve the woes levelled against them in the gospel; for, was not every player under a mask, conscious of his wearing that disguise? conscious of having put on, and of continuing to wear it?—Calmet, *Fragments.* p. 122.

rewards of a future life; and particularly by Sadoc and Baithofus, two of his disciples, who taught their followers, that no future recompence was to be expected; and, therefore, that there would be no resurrection of the dead. They even denied the world to come, and the existence of angels or spirits*. And hence arose, about 200 years before Christ, the sect of the Baithofæi or Sadducees†.

In objecting to the resurrection, the Sadducees agreed with the Heathen: and, their denying the immateriality, and, consequently, the immortality of the soul, proves, they had imbibed the sentiments of Epicurus. They did not deny that man had a reasonable soul, but maintained it was mortal‡. They differed from Epicurus only in allowing, that God by his power created the world, and governs it by his providence; and, for the carrying on of his government, hath ordained, in this world, rewards and punishments. Whereas the Epicureans, who were deemed no better than atheists, and detested by the better sort of Heathens, denied a divine providence; and said, God was altogether unconcerned in the government of the world. Cicero accused Epicurus of atheism, and said, Whatever veneration he pretended to have for the gods, yet he was no better than an atheist, and mentioned a god in his philosophy, merely to avoid falling under the displeasure of the Athenian Senate.

The Sadducees supposed God to be the only Spirit; and it has been also imputed to them, that they thought even Him to be corporeal. It is remarkable how they could deny angels, and yet receive the five books of Moses, in which the appearance of angels is so frequently mentioned. Some suppose they understood all those scriptures, that speak of the appearance of angels, as importing nothing but a bodily shape, visible for a time, influenced and moved by the divine power, and conversing with those to whom it was sent. And others, that they considered angels, not as

* Matt. xxii. 23. Mark xii. 18. Luke xx. 27. Acts xxiii. 8.

† *Rees's New Cyclopaedia.* ‡ *Joseph.* lib. 2. *de Bello*, cap. 12.

individual beings, and subsisting of themselves, but as powers, emanations, or qualities inseparable from the Deity, as the sun-beams from the sun*: or, that, perhaps they held angels to be mortal; just as they thought of human spirits.

It is strange, also, how they could make any pretensions to religion, who denied the resurrection of the body, the immortality of the soul, and a future world of recompence! This was tearing up, at once, the very foundations of all religion and morality; limiting the existence of man to a very short period; and so making this life incompatible with the perfections of God, and the nature and responsibility of man. A common saying among the Jews, excepting the Sadducees, was, *All true Israelites are partakers of the future world.* In the translation of Enoch, before the giving of the law, and of Elijah, under it, they had sensible demonstration of the reality of another world, and that man would there exist. The venerable patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in all their peregrinations, looked for a city that had foundations, whose builder and maker is God. And, to convince the Sadducees that their hope was not delusive, our Saviour told them, that these persons, so renowned in the scriptures for their faith, were yet alive, with regard to their souls. "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," and "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." If there were not a life to come, we should be at a loss to find out a sufficient reason why we live at all, and be ready to look on ourselves as the most useless and superfluous race of beings in the creation. How awful would be the supposition of this? how unhappy its influence on mankind! We should not only sorrow without hope, for those of our dear relatives already departed this life; but also, live in fearful expectation of death extinguishing the flame of animal life in ourselves. The scriptures every where represent death, not as the extinction of our being, but as a passage out of this world into another.

* This was the opinion of some Jews in the time of Justin. *Dialog. cum Tryphon.* p. 358. See Gretius on Matt. xxii. 23, and M. Le Clerc on *Actis* xxiii. 8.

Austin, when speaking of it, calls it *Ostium Aeternitatis*, the gate of, or entrance into eternity*.

It has often been asserted, that the Sadducees received only the five books of Moses; and, as a proof of it, that our Saviour, when he argued with them, in defence of a future state or resurrection from the dead, did not make use of the Psalms and the Prophets, but of the law of Moses; and confuted their flimsy reasonings, and overturned their weak objections out of the Pentateuch: but Scaliger produces what Calmet calls good proofs to vindicate them from this†. Scaliger observes, that they did not appear in Israel till after the number of the holy books was fixed, and that, had they selected any part of the Canon, the Pentateuch was less favourable to them than any other book, since it often mentions angels and their appearances. Besides, the Sadducees were present in the temple, and at other religious assemblies, when the books of the prophets were read, as well as those of Moses. They were in the chief stations of the nation; many were even priests, and some of them admitted to the high-priesthood itself: which shews the state of religion then among the Jews. Would the Jews have suffered, in these employments, persons who rejected the greater part of the scriptures? Menasseh-ben-Israel says expressly ‡, that indeed they did not reject the prophets, but explained them in a sense very different from that of the other Jews. The Sadducees were excellent in one point, they rejected all the traditions; kept only to the text of the law; and maintained, that only what was written ought to be implicitly received §.

* *The following lines of Addison, are strongly and beautifully descriptive of the IMMORTALITY of the SOUL.*

The soul, secure in her existence, smiles
At dissolution, and defies its power.
The stars shall fade away, the sun himself
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years;
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth—
Unhurt, amidst the war of elements,
The wreck of matter, and the crash of worlds.

† See *Calmet's Dictionary*; from which valuable work I have received much assistance, in describing the sects among the Jews.

‡ *De Resurrec. mort. lib. 1. cap. 6.* § *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.*

Under the Asmonean princes the Jews grew prosperous, powerful, and rich; which, as is too often the case, produced great arrogance, luxury, and vice. To quiet their consciences, and free themselves from the dread of a future reckoning for sin, were the causes which introduced among them, this doctrine, against a judgment to come. The greater part of those in the higher circles, because their passions were ungovernable, and their actions immoral, embraced this doctrine; preferring the pleasure and grandeur of this life, to any thing, however excellent, in another. This is confirmed by Josephus; he says, the number of the Sadducees was less than that of the other sects, but they were men of the best quality, and possessed the greatest property*. The rich man, mentioned by our Saviour, was probably of this sect; for he received his *good things* in this life†, and neglected all preparation for a better world.

The Sadducees were much reduced, or all cut off, when the Roman army destroyed Jerusalem; and no mention was made of them for several ages after. Their name was revived in the *Karaites*, who, in the way of reproach, are called Sadducees by the other Jews; yet agree with them in nothing, but in rejecting all traditions, and adhering only to the written word; where, indeed, the Sadducees began, but afterwards went further, into the impious doctrines now described.

As the Sadducees acknowledged neither punishments nor recompences in another life, and were remarkable for a fierce and cruel temper; so when they sat in judgment, they were much more rigorous and severe upon criminals, than the Pharisees. This is not to be wondered at; for all their happiness being placed in earthly things, and limited within the compass of the present life, they must have reckoned the disturbers of it to deserve the severest torments; that, by these, they might deter men from giving them any uneasiness.

The Essenes are not mentioned in the New Testament, except it be under the name of Pharisees; and they seem to have been originally of the same sect. Although

* Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. and lib. 18, cap. 2.

† Luke xvi. 25.

our Saviour frequently censured the Pharisees and Sadducees, yet he never spake of the Essenes; probably, being honest and sincere people, they gave no cause for that reproof and censure, which the guile and hypocrisy of others very justly deserved. With the Sadducees, they acknowledged or expected no resurrection of the body; but went far beyond them, believing the immortality of the soul; and that a future state, of eternal happiness or misery, would be according to the conduct of individuals in this life.

Their rules of living are handed down by Josephus, Philo, and Pliny; and, from these sources, some of the Christian Fathers have also described them. Whence we learn, they were in number about four thousand men, and had their name given on account of their piety*. They chiefly lived in country villages, avoiding cities, in abhorrence of the vices which were familiar among the citizens; being sensible, that as breathing in corrupted air occasions diseases, so conversing with evil company often makes an indelible impression upon the souls of men.

They held riches, comparatively, in contempt, and maintained a common participation of goods. It was a fixed rule, that whoever entered into their sect must give all his property into the public stock of the society, to be enjoyed as one possession, among brethren in the same family, for every man's use; so that, in the whole number, none might be found lower than another by reason of his poverty, nor any elevated above the rest by his riches. Something like the Moravians in our day, who style themselves *Unitas Fratrum* or the *United Brethren*†.

They held marriage in no esteem, but taking other men's children, while yet tender and susceptible of any impression, treated them as though they were of their own flesh and blood; and carefully trained them in the

* Philo says, they were called Essenes from the Greek word ἄστος, which signifies *holy*.

† The Moravians, in general, profess to adhere to the Augsburgh confession of faith. There is a large community of them at Fulnec near Leeds, which excites the curiosity of the traveller; and they have places of worship in various parts of the kingdom.

peculiarities of their sect. But all were not of this opinion; some entered the marriage-state, yet with views solely for procreation.

They were so very exact in their devotions, that, before the rising of the sun, they conversed on no ordinary matters, but offered up prayers; and, at meals, none were permitted to taste before a blessing was implored; nor to withdraw until thanks were returned; thus constantly beginning and ending with praise to God for his beneficence. They distinguished themselves above the other Jews, in abstaining from all manner of work on the Sabbath. On this day, they went to their synagogues, and, according to seniority or continuance in the society, sat in order, the juniors below their seniors; all arranging themselves with decency for hearing the word. They were instructed in holiness, righteousness, justice, economy, politics; in the knowledge of what was proper to be chosen, and what to be avoided; and the Deity was represented as the cause of all good, and never the author of evil.

Their words were as sacred as the oaths of other men. An oath they avoided taking, looking on it as worse than perjury; and affirmed, He is already condemned as faithless, who is not to be believed without calling God to witness. They were great curbers of their passions, contemners of adversity, and overcame sufferings by greatness of mind; inasmuch that they highly esteemed dissolution itself, when it was to be undergone on an honorable account. Strangers of their own sect were received kindly, and entertained liberally, as though they had been old acquaintances. Next to God, they had so high a veneration for their legislators, that it was death to speak evil of them.

When any desired to unite with them, they were kept a whole year *without*; being compelled to submit to the same discipline, or regulations, with themselves; and, after giving full proof of their continence and temperance, were received into a nearer conversation and rule of life. However, they were not yet introduced to their common table, and full fellowship; but remained on trial for two years longer; and then,

if they appeared worthy, gained admission. Such as were found guilty of any enormous crime they expelled. In the administration of justice, sentence was never given but when an hundred, at least, were present; and the decree then passed remained irrevocable. And notwithstanding they embraced several errors, these traits in the character of the Essenes, which could not be found among the other two sects, rendered them far more the objects of regard.

As the *Herodians* are mentioned several times by the evangelists*, it may be proper to shew, that they were not a religious sect, but a political party among the Jews. When the Romans put Hyrcanus in possession of the government; but, at the same time, obliged him to hold it by their favour and permission; that laid the foundation of considerable dissensions. Some submitted to the Roman power, thinking it justly founded, by conquest and surrender; while others objected, that only a junto had submitted, and not the whole body of the people; that treachery, not conquest, had brought Jerusalem into subjection; and, consequently, that the Romans were usurpers, and Hyrcanus and his followers betrayers of their country.

Herod, improperly styled *the Great*, (after having procured, of M. Antony, the death of Antigonus, with whom ended, after continuing 129 years, the reign of the Asmonean family,) obtained the kingdom of Judea, which was confirmed to him by Augustus, a short time before the birth of our Saviour. He was born at Ascalon, about 68 years B. C; his father was Antipater the Idumean, or Edomite, and, therefore, an alien by birth. His character is justly held in detestation; for he was an execrable tyrant, and his footsteps to the throne were marked with blood. Under the Romans, he fought his way to the government of the Jews, and ascended the throne by the slaughter of the sanhedrim; by which a period was put to their dominion. His barbarity was as fatal to his own family as to his subjects; for he murdered his beautiful wife Mariamne, her mo-

* Matt. xxiii. 16. - Mark iii. 6; viii. 15; xii. 13.

ther Alexandra, her brother Aristobulus, her grandfather Hyrcanus II, and his own sons Alexander and Aristobulus. At the birth of Christ, in the vain hope of cutting off the Messiah, he caused all the infants of Bethlehem, under two years of age, to be massacred. From Eusebius we learn, that soon after he had done this, the judgment of God overtook him; he was plagued with an incurable disease, having a burning heat in his bowels, by which he became very offensive to those about him, a burden to himself, and, at length, mad with extreme anguish, which continued till he expired, within three years after the birth of Christ, aged seventy.

After his death, the Romans, as a mark of patronage to his family, changed the monarchy, by dividing the kingdom into four parts, and appointing a governor for each; who, because he governed a fourth, had the name of tetrarch. Archelaus, Herod's eldest son, was tetrarch of Judea and Samaria; but, for his ill government, was soon deprived of it: and, after this, Judea was under a procurator; and, it is thought, Pilate was the fifth in succession. Herod Antipas*, another son of Herod, by his wife Cleopatra, a native

* Herod Antipas married the daughter of Aretas king of Arabia; whom he divorced about A. D. 33, to marry his sister-in-law Herodias, wife to his brother Philip, who was still living. John the Baptist, exclaiming against this incest and illicit connexion, was imprisoned in the castle of Machæus; and afterwards beheaded by Herod's order, at the request of the daughter of Herodias, who had previously been instructed by her mother to ask his head. How mysterious is the providence, says an eminent author, which left the life of so holy a man in such profane hands! Which permitted it to be sacrificed to the malice of an abandoned harlot, the petulance of a vain girl, and the rashness of a foolish, perhaps, drunken prince, who made a prophet's head the reward of a dance! But we are sure the Almighty will repay his servants in another world, for whatever they suffer in this. Aretas, to revenge the affront which Herod had offered to his daughter, declared war against him, and overcame him in a very obstinate engagement; and many Jews thought this defeat a judgment sent upon him for the death of John.—*Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 5. (al. 7.) sect. 1, 2.*—This Antipas is the Herod who, being at Jerusalem, the place of his nativity, at the time of our Saviour's passion, (*Luke xxiii. 11.*) ridiculed him, by dressing him in a white robe, and sending him back to Pilate, as a mock king, whose ambition gave him no umbrage.—Herod being afterwards detected as a party in Sejanus's conspiracy, was banished by the emperor Caligula into Lyons in Gaul; whither Herodias accompanied him. The time when he died is not known, but it is certain he died in exile, as well as Herodias. And if credit may be given to Nicephorus, (*Hist. lib. 1. cap. 23.*) Salome, the daughter of Herodias, fell into the ice as she was walking over it, which, closing suddenly, severed her head from her body.

of Jerusalem, was tetrarch of Galilee and Paræa. His brother Philip was tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonites; that tract of land on the other side Jordan, which had formerly belonged to the tribe of Manasseh. And Lysanias (probably descended from a prince of that name, who was some years before governor of that country,) was tetrarch of Abilene, a large city of Syria, whose territories reached Lebanon and Damascus.

Herod was a zealous servant of the Romans, and promoter of their tribute; and those Jews that were in this interest, and cheerfully paid tribute to Cæsar, were called Herodians. Some of these, no doubt, might be weak enough to imagine, that Herod was the Messiah, or so wicked as to pretend that they did, in order to serve his cause. They were not only distinguished from the other Jews, by falling in with Herod's scheme of subjecting himself and his dominions to the Romans, but likewise, by complying with many of their Heathen usages and customs. This symbolizing with idolatry, upon views of interest and worldly policy, was probably that leaven of Herod, against which our Saviour cautioned his disciples. It is farther probable, that they were chiefly of the sect of the Sadducees; because what is called the leaven of the Sadducees*, is also called the leaven of Herod†.

Hence we see, the Pharisees and Sadducees or Herodians, respecting their political principles, were at variance; and that which contributed not a little to make this controversy still greater, was what Josephus and Eusebius relate concerning Judas the Gaulonite. He, about the time of the taxation, in which (as St. Luke says,) our Saviour was born, disquieted the minds of many, by representing the decree of Augustus, for that purpose, as a mark of infamy and servitude not to be borne. This man is said to have instituted a particular sect, one of whose tenets was,—That no Jew ought to pay tribute, nor acknowledge any sovereign Lord, but God only; and that, being his peculiar people, they were bound to maintain their liberty, especially against

* Matt. xvi. 6.

† Mark viii. 15.

profane and uncircumcised pretenders, and such they deemed the Roman emperors. So that the paying of tribute to Cæsar, which was acknowledging his right to govern, was not, at this time, a question of mere curiosity, but a matter of moment with regard to practice: nor was it a point of bravery only, in the esteem of the Pharisees, and others of that party, but a scruple of conscience, and a debate of religion, whether this tribute should be paid or not*.

The conjunction of the Herodians, therefore, with the Pharisees against Christ, is a memorable proof of the keeness of their resentment and malice; especially, when we consider that they united in proposing an ensnaring question, on a subject which was the ground of their mutual dissent, namely, whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, the Roman emperor? and, provided he answered in the negative, the Herodians would accuse him of treason against the state; but if in the affirmative, the Pharisees were as ready to excite the people against him, as an enemy to their civil liberties and privileges. Our Saviour, well-knowing their craft and ill design, asked, why they did thus cunningly and hypocritically try to ensnare him? and bade them bring a penny, that he might see it. They brought the coin, which was the Roman denarius, answering to seven-pence halfpenny of our money. Two of these were paid by way of tribute, and no other coin would answer; that thereby it might appear they were under the dominion of the Roman emperor. On their declaring, in answer to his question, that the image and superscription were Cæsar's, he said, Give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's†. The Pharisees and Herodians, being astonished at his wariness, and silenced therewith, left him, and went their way.

The *Samaritans* were inhabitants of the city of Samaria, and the province, of which it was the capital. Some time after the ten tribes had revolted from the house

* Stanhope on the Epistles and Gospels, vol. 4. p. 587—
† Mark xii. 13—17.

of David, in the thirty-first year of Asa*, king of Judah, began Omri, the sixth king, to reign over Israel. When he had reigned six years in Tirza, he purchased, for two talents of silver, a hill, on which he built a city, and called it Samaria, from the name of Shemer, of whom he had bought the ground. This hill was fruitful, and in an advantageous situation, being, by the computation of Josephus, a days' journey from Jerusalem.

From that time it became the capital city for the kings of Israel, who spared no expence nor labour to make it the strongest, the finest, and the richest, possible; until † Shalmaneser, king of Affyria, came with an army, and, after a siege of three years, took it, and carried captive the ten tribes of Israel beyond the Euphrates; dispersing them in Media, that they might not revolt any more. For, previous to this, Shalmaneser had entered Palestine, subdued Samaria, and obliged Hoshea, the son of Elah, to pay him tribute; but, in the third year, being weary of payment, Hoshea took secret measures with So, king of Egypt, to remove this subjection. And thus Shalmaneser ruined the city and kingdom of Samaria, which had subsisted two hundred and fifty-four years, from A. M. 3030, to 3283; and before Christ 721 years.

Ezar-haddon, the grandson of Shalmaneser, who is called Afnapper†, succeeded his father Sennacharib, in the kingdom of Affyria. Having enlarged his dominions, and augmented his strength, by seizing Babylon and Chaldea, he marched with a great army to recover what his father had lost in Syria and Palestine§. And then he took captive most of the few Israelites, whom his grandfather had left in the land of Israel, carrying them into Babylon and Affyria; and, to plant the country, he brought people from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim||.

These new inhabitants, made up of different nations, all heathens, received the name of Samaritans, from

* 1 Kings xvi. 23, 24. † 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6; and xviii. 9—12.

‡ Ezra iv. 10. § 2 Kings xix. 35; and 2 Chron. xxxii. 21.

|| 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2, 10; and Prideaux's Connex. vol 1. p. 80.

the country in which they were now settled. Being an idolatrous and a very wicked people, they were at first much molested, and many of them devoured, by lions. Esar-haddon*, being informed of this, and imputing it to their ignorance of the manner of worshipping the God of the country, (whom he considered as a local deity, who would not be appeased, unless he were worshipped by its inhabitants,) sent among them a Jewish priest, whom his grandfather had carried away captive, to teach them the rites of the Hebrews. They thought it right to blend this religion with that which they professed before; and so, for a while, continued to worship their idols, in conjunction with the God of Israel, not perceiving that these two religions were incompatible.

It does not appear that, in Samaria, there was any temple common to all these people who came from beyond the Euphrates; but every one had been left to his own discretion, and worshipped where he thought proper; until Nehemiah (who was born at Babylon during the captivity,) attempted a reformation at Jerusalem; that those Jews who had married women of other nations, should, according to the law of Moses†, put them away, lest they should prove snares, and entice them to idolatry. The Jews were under a command not to make intermarriages with any foreign nations‡, but, whilst in Babylon, they regarded it not§. Upon their return to their own land, they continued the same practice; and, among others, a son of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the high-priest, whose name was Manesse, as Josephus reports, contracted an alliance with Nicaso||, the daughter of Sanballat, the Horonite, deputy governor of Samaria.

Manesse, with other Jews, being hostile to the laudable attempt of Nehemiah to remove this enormity, fled to Samaria, and took protection under his father-in-law. As a considerable number of Jews flocked thither, the governor obtained leave of Darius Nothus, king of Persia, to whom Samaria was then in subjec-

* 2 Kings xvii. 24. 29.

† Dcut. vii. 3.

+ Neh. x. 30; and xiii. 29, &c.

§ Ezra ix. 2.

|| Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 8. § 2.

tion; to erect a temple for them on mount Gerizim*, and made Manesse high-priest, in opposition to the Temple at Jerusalem.

From that time, Samaria became the common refuge for the vagabond Jews. So that, if any were called to an account for a breach of the Jewish law, especially in its rituals †, such as eating forbidden meats, breaking the sabbath, or the like, they presently fled to Samaria, and were favourably received. By this, the Samaritans became a mixed people, consisting partly of Jews, and partly of the posterity of those whom the kings of Assyria had brought thither ‡. However, by having a temple, the ritual service, and so many Jews among them, they laid aside idolatry, and conformed to the law of Moses; but are said not to have received the prophets, nor regarded the traditions of the elders.

Beside other things, what most incensed the Jews against the Samaritans, was the above-mentioned apostacy of Manesse, and his companions. This antipathy of the Jews arose to such a height, that they published a bitter curse against them; strictly forbidding all communications, except what necessity urged; and even denying them common civilities. And thus it continued for several hundred years, even to our Saviour's time; as appears from the woman of Samaria's interrogating him, how he, being a Jew, asked water of her, who was a woman of Samaria? To which, she adds, as the reason of her surprise, that "the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans§."

The Jews viewed the Samaritans as apostates, heretics, and vile corrupters of their religion: and, when

* BENSON, in his History of the First Planting of the Christian Religion, says, Josephus (*Antiq. Jud. l. 11, c. 8. § 4.*) through a great defect among the Jews, in the Chronology of the Babylonian, and Medo-Persian empires, ascribes this grant to Alexander the Great: whereas, according to the most exact chronology, it must have been a grant of Darius Nothus, almost an hundred years before the Persian empire was conquered by Alexander the Great. See Benson's *History*, vol. 2. p. 146. Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology*, p. 257, 365. Prideaux's *Connex.* vol. 1. p. 410. &c. 8vo. edit. printed 1722.

† Joseph. *Antiq. l. 11. c. 8. § ult.*

‡ Benson's Hist. of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. 1. p. 144, 146.

§ John iv. 9.

branding any one with infamy and abuse, they called him a Samaritan, as they did our blessed Saviour,—“ Say ‘ we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a de-
“ vil *?’” This rancorous spirit on the Jews’ side, pro-
voked the same on the part of the Samaritans; which
they sufficiently evinced, in denying our Saviour a
passage, or any refreshment; because they understood
he agreed with the Jews, in believing that Jerusalem,
and not Gerizim, was the place of worship; which was
the grand question or controversy between them. The
Samaritans urged, that, as some of the Patriarchs had
worshipped upon mount Gerizim †;—as God had or-
dered the blessings to be pronounced from thence upon
Israel ‡, when they came out of the land of Egypt;—
and as Joshua had, accordingly, caused the blessings of
God to be pronounced from thence;—therefore, that
men ought there to perform their devotions. The
Jews had the direct testimony of divine revelation,
to worship God in the temple at Jerusalem. And
thus it has often happened, that controversies, arising
from differences in religion, are the most hot and un-
charitable.

Having considered the religious, moral, and political state of the Jews, that of the Heathen world next falls under consideration. This includes the nations unacquainted with the covenant of grace, in Christ, and who worshipped idols and false gods.

Noah, the tenth from Adam, was the second father of mankind. He lived 600 years among the inhabitants of the old world, who, for their audacious wickedness, were at length drowned by the deluge; the tallest trees, the strongest towers, the loftiest mountains, affording no refuge from the spreading ruin. The Ark, which the Almighty authorized and directed him to build, for

* John viii. 48. † Gen. xii. 6, 7; and xiii. 4; and xxxiii. 18, 19, 20.

‡ Deut. xxvii. 11, 12.

the preservation of himself and family, was a remarkable providence, and served to condemn the wicked, for their unbelief, profligacy, and impenitence. We may trace the certainty of the preservation of Noah and his family in the Ark, from the waters of the deluge *, among the Chaldeans, Egyptians, the Indian Bramins, the Chinese, and the Americans †. The enormous mass of wickedness being removed, the new world began its course in a purified state.

Stimulated by the most lively gratitude to the Author and Preserver of his existence, Noah, immediately upon his leaving the ark, erected an altar, and offered a burnt sacrifice of every clean beast and every clean fowl. This act of piety proved highly acceptable to God, who graciously affirmed, that he would no more curse the earth for man's sake; but, on the contrary, that it should retain all its privileges, and enjoy an uninterrupted succession of seasons, till the period of its final destruction; and he set his bow in the clouds, for a token of a covenant between him and the earth. And, no doubt, Noah delivered religion pure in its principle, design, duties, and obligations, to his children; and urged it, by arguments of terror, drawn from the destruction they had seen of the old world, and motives of piety, from God's paternal regard exercised towards them; of which so recent a proof had been

* Proofs of the certainty of the Deluge exist to this day. A learned author, in examining the truth of divine revelation, has noticed this particularly, and enforced it as an argument for the divine authority of the Scriptures. "Whereas Moses assures us, says he, that *the waters prevailed fifteen cubits above the highest mountains*, let the mountains themselves be appealed to for the truth of this assertion. Examine the highest eminences of the earth, and they all, with one accord, produce the spoils of the ocean, deposited upon them on that occasion, the shells and skeletons of sea-fish and sea-monsters of all kinds. The Alps, the Apennines, the Pyrenees, the Andes, and Atlas, and Ararat, every mountain of every region under heaven, from Japan to Mexico, all conspire, in one uniform, universal proof, that they all had the sea spread over their highest summit. Search the earth, and you will find the mouse-deer, natives of America, buried in Ireland; elephants, natives of Asia and Africa, buried in the midst of England; crocodiles, natives of the Nile, in the heart of Germany; shell-fish, never known in any but the American seas, together with entire skeletons of whales, in divers other countries; and what is more, trees and plants of various kinds, which are not known to grow in any region under heaven. All which are a perfect demonstration, that Moses's account of the deluge is incontestably true." *Part 1. dissert. 2.*

† Mavor's Universal History, vol. 1. p. 122, 123.

given, and, by which, they must long have been seriously impressed,

United under one common head, they most probably lived in tents, and, according to the most early custom, removed from place to place, for the better convenience of pasturage and the like; proceeding from Ararat, where the ark rested, until, as they journeyed thus eastward, they arrived at a plain in the land of Shinar, where they pitched their tents, and continued, being delighted with the situation. This land is the pleasant valley, along which the river Tigris runs, comprehending the country of Eden, the happy seat of Adam in his state of innocence; near which, it is likely, his righteous descendants dwelt before the flood; and consequently Noah, as the guide of his family, may well be supposed to have been desirous of returning, and directing his course thither.

Noah lived after the deluge 350 years, and Shinar became the nursery of rising generations: whence his descendants dispersed colonies into other parts of the globe. According to the vulgar opinion, he divided the world among his three sons; to Shem he gave Afia, to Ham Africa, and to Japheth Europe; or, more accurately, to Shem the south of Afia, to Japheth the north of Afia, and to Ham Africa. Neither Europe nor America seem to be hinted at, unless, perhaps, in the expression, "Japheth shall be *enlarged*;" first, by discovering Europe; secondly, by discovering America: which appears to have been peopled, either from Europe, or from the north of Afia*.

The original plantations could not have been extensive, because the inhabitants of the earth were not numerous. Dr. Wells says†, the division was made about an hundred years after the flood, at the time of Peleg's birth; whose name, in the Hebrew language denoting a *division*, it is supposed, was given him by his father Heber, in reference to that signal event; when, says the learned Mede, beside women and children, their number in

* Calmet's Dictionary, Fragments, p. 39.

† Well's Geography, vol. 1. p. 50, 51. printed 1801.

all could not be above seven thousand. And there is no reason to imagine, that all the persons mentioned by Moses went to the several countries they possessed at the same time ; the different plantations being made at different periods, and by a gradual progression.

The spacious plain in the land of Shinar affording means, and unity of language favouring such a design, certain persons, prompted by pride, and influenced by views of ambition and aggrandizement, raised themselves to be heads and leaders ; and, seizing on this situation, resolved to build a city, to be the metropolis of the world, and seat of universal empire ; and a tower, whose top should reach unto heaven : this they intended, among other purposes, to command every part of the city, and to keep off any body of men who might attempt to break in upon them. But, after the commencement of the work, the Lord confounded their language, so that they could not understand one another's speech; which caused them first to divide, and afterwards to disperse*. The tower they had begun to build, from that event, was called *Babel*, or *confusion*: the same with Babylon, which was either the first city built by Nimrod, or the capital of his kingdom. It is probable, that the tower of Babel was originally devoted to idolatrous worship ; for which, it is well known, it served in after ages, as we have accounts of the *idols*, &c, found there ; particularly, of a

* It is likely that every family, had its peculiar dialect, or, rather, that some dialect or form of speaking was given to those families whom God designed to make one colony in the following dispersion. Into how many languages the people were divided, it is impossible to determine. The Hebrews fancy seventy, because the descendants of the sons of Noah, as enumerated in scripture, are just so many : the Greek fathers make them seventy-two, because the version of the LXX adds two more, (Elisa among the sons of Japhet, and Canaan among the sons of Shem,) and the Latin fathers follow them. But this is all conjecture, and built upon a very weak foundation. For in many places, so many people concurred in the use of the same speech, that of the seventy scarcely thirty remain distinct, as Bochart has observed : and, among these, others have supposed, that the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, in the east ; the Greek and Latin in the west ; and the Finnish, Scavonian, Hungarian, Cantabrian, and the antient Gaulish, in the North ; are generally reputed originals : besides some more that might be discovered in Persia, China, the midland parts of Africa, and all America, if we had but a sufficient knowledge of the history of these people.—*Stackhouse from Patrick's Commentary, and Wotten on the Confusion of Languages at Babel.*

stupendous image of the Sun, made of gold; whose height was forty feet without the pedestal, its weight a thousand Babylonish talents, and its value equal to three millions and a half of our money. Archbishop Tennison supposes, Babel was consecrated by its builders to the sun, as the cause of drying up the waters of the deluge. The Jerusalem Targum, and some of the great Jewish Rabbies, seem to have been of the same opinion. And antiquity assures us, the top of it was dedicated to *Bel*, or the *Sun**; which these eastern idolaters worshipped under the symbol of fire†. It was repaired and beautified by Nebuchadnezzar, and called the Temple of Bel, or Belus, or Lord‡.

To gratify the reader, I introduce here a clear distinction, made by a modern author, between the division of the earth by Noah, and the confusion of tongues at Babel, which have, by the generality of writers, been confounded together.—It is not easy to fix the precise era of the building of the Babylonian tower, says he, because the sacred historian does not connect it with any of the various dates that he specifies. I cannot think, however, that this stupendous work was undertaken at such a *very early* period after the deluge, as the birth of Peleg, which, according to the chronology of the Hebrew Pentateuch, at least, was at the close of the first postdiluvian century; because it appears to be physically impossible, that mankind should have sufficiently multiplied in so short a space of time §. But, however this may be, there is perhaps no just ground for supposing, that the birth of Peleg, and the building of the tower, were contemporaneous; notwith-

* Dr. Coke's Commentary, Gen. xi. 4.

† The historian, Herodotus, in whose days this tower was standing, describes it, as consisting of eight towers, in allusion to the Noëtic Ogdoad, placed one upon the other, and gradually diminishing in size. At the top of it was a large temple, and towards the bottom a chapel, in which was placed a statue of Jupiter-Belus, or the solar Noah. Herod. lib. cap. 181, 183. The pyramidal form was most probably adopted in honour of the Sun, says Faber, and in imitation of the tapering flame, as indeed the very name of *pyramid* seems to imply; and the tower itself was used for a two-fold purpose, astronomical observations, and idolatrous devotion. *Faber's Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri*, vol. 2, p. 384. and his *Horæ Mosaicae*, vol. 1, p. 212.

‡ An account of this may be seen in *Prideaux*, vol. 1.

§ See various calculations in *Anc. Univ. Hist.* vol. 1. p. 361.

standing they are usually placed at the same era, and notwithstanding the name *Peleg* is thought to allude to the dispersion from the plains of Shinar. Two entirely different events, subsequent to each other in point of time, appear in fact to be spoken of. The first was the *orderly and regular division* of the world among all the children of Noah*; the second was the *disorderly and miraculous dispersion* of the Cuthites, *posterior* to their having violated the primitive arrangement, by invading the territories of Ashur†. In memory of the first of these events, Peleg received his descriptive appellation; whence it will follow, that the second certainly took place *after* the birth of that patriarch, but how long after, is difficult to determine. The general opinion seems always to have been, and indeed Scripture apparently intimates it‡, that Nimrod was principally concerned in the building of the tower§. Nimrod however was the grandson of Ham, and, from the peculiar manner in which he is mentioned||, he appears to have been the youngest of the sons of Cush; whence perhaps we may be allowed to conjecture, that he was born about 120 years after the deluge: and, since the great influence, which he possessed over his followers, could scarcely have been acquired in his youth, and during the lives of his elder brothers, we may also infer, that he must have been nearly 250 years old, before he attempted to build the tower, and found the empire of Babel. If this mode of computation be allowable, every chronological difficulty will be removed: for Noah will then have died previous to the events of Shinar, and the world will have become sufficiently populous to remove all doubts respecting the possibility of such events. This computation moreover will perfectly accord, in point of time, with the ancient tradition¶, that Abraham was cast into a furnace by Nimrod, for refusing to worship his grand deity Fire §§.

* See Gen. x. † See Gen. xi. ‡ Gen. x. 10; and xi. 9.

§ Syncel. Chronog. p. 42. Cedren. Hist. Compend, p. 11.

|| Gen. x. 7, 8.

¶ Fabric. Codex Pseudepig. vol. 1. p. 344.

§§ The preceding calculation however is offered with great diffidence, continues the same excellent author; for I am aware that it is liable to some objections. If therefore it should be maintained, that the birth of Peleg and the

As children of the same pious parents, living together, and favoured with the same instructions and examples, differ frequently, not only in their intellects, but in their dispositions and manners; as was the case with Seth and Cain, the children of Adam; so it appears that Shem was the most pious of the sons of Noah: and, as he lived for five hundred years after the deluge, no doubt, he earnestly and faithfully inculcated the true worship of God among his offspring; therefore, his posterity retained it in its purity for several generations: until, at length, even some of these, by intermingling with a part of the race of Ham, (settled in the land of Shinar, among whom idolatry seems first to have originated,) degenerated so far as to adopt their idolatrous practices.

The longevity of the antediluvians was of very considerable use, as the medium by which information was given of the creation, the origin of evil, and the promise of the Messiah. From the beginning to the destruction of the old world was 1656 years. Noah was 600 years old when the flood came: he had conversed with Lamech his father, who had seen Adam and his children, (being 56 years of age when Adam expired;) and with Methusalem his grandfather, who died the year before the deluge, and who, being 343 years old at Adam's death, without doubt, instructed Noah, during so vast an interval, as himself had been instructed by Adam. Methusalem having lived long with Seth, who died in the year of the world 1042, it is evident that Noah, who was born in 1056, had not only seen Lamech and Methusalem, but many also of their ancestors, whose discourses he heard, examined their traditions, and imitated their mode of worship*.

building of the tower were contemporary, instead of successive events, the adoption of the Samaritan chronology, which places the birth of Peleg 401 years after the deluge, would, equally with the foregoing hypothesis, allow a sufficient period of time for the repeopling of the earth: but, whether it be allowable to set aside the Hebrew computation in favour of the Samaritan, I leave to abler judges than myself to determine.

Faber's Dissertation, vol. 1. p. 11—13.

* Allix's *Reflections upon Genesis*, chap. 12.

Abraham, the first father and patriarch of the Jewish nation, was a descendant of Shem, and, according to the Hebrew chronology, contemporary with him for 150 years: but, according to that of the Samaritan, might have conversed for a considerable time even with Noah himself: and consequently would receive much important instruction, from one or both of these venerable ancestors. When God appeared to him, probably with some visible display of his glory, he lived at Urr of the Chaldees, which country lay between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and was therefore called Mesopotamia. Idolatry had made considerable progress there, and he himself was an idolater; but, on being enlightened in the knowledge of the true God, instructed how to serve him, and called to leave his country and kindred, he became a remarkable example of faith and obedience: this was some hundred years before the giving of the Law, and longer before the Temple was built. And from Shem, through the line of Heber, Abraham, Jacob, and their posterity, was the knowledge of the living God, and of true religion, handed down to the time of Christ and his Apostles*.

Previous to entering more fully upon the subject of pagan idolatry, we shall notice that, when our Saviour came, the Heathen world had made astonishing progress in polite literature, and was at the zenith of its glory. Stars, of great magnitude and brightness, had appeared in the scientific hemisphere, engaging the attention, and exciting the wonder of mankind.—Chaldea had boasted her Zoroaster, to whom the invention of arts among the Chaldeans is generally ascribed; and from whom, several persons, distinguished by their learning in other countries, were dignified with the same name. Egypt had long been the land of science: whence the Egyptians derived their literary accomplishments is not certain; some say from Abraham. Philo, Diodorus Siculus, and others assert, that their wisdom or learning was the mathematics,

* See an excellent Pamphlet, entitled, *An Inquiry into the Origin of true Religion, &c.* By the Rev. James Creighton, B. A.

astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, music, natural philosophy, physic, hieroglyphics, and civil and political knowledge.

The Grecian sages, many of whom travelled for information into Egypt, were very distinguished characters. *Solon*, by the greatness of his parts, raised himself to the government of his country; and his literary productions, it is said, embraced a variety of subjects, as laws, eloquence, elegies, iambic verse; and he either instituted or improved the *Areopagus* at Athens.—*Pythagoras*, who preferred the title of *Lover of Wisdom* to that of *Sage*, was one of the greatest philosophers of antiquity. In his travels, acquainting himself with the writings of Moses, and the discipline of the Jews, he, from these, transfused many things into the opinions and regulations of his own sect; which produced legislators, geometricians, astronomers, naturalists, and celebrated men in every class. If we measure the greatness of a philosopher, by the duration of his doctrine and the extent of its propagation, Pythagoras will appear with distinguished excellence, since many of his opinions are, at this day, literally followed in several parts of the world.—*Socrates* (who lived at a time when the human mind seemed every day to discover new sources of knowledge,) had an extensive capacity, and a penetrating mind; and was eager to obtain instruction. The examination of nature, the study of the sciences, and an application to useful arts, by turns engaged his attention; until he became one of the greatest philosophers.—*Plato*, who had examined the Jewish institutes, and brought into Greece what he had found in the writings of Moses, was so illustrious, that the ancients thought more highly of him than of all their philosophers, and always prefixed to his name the epithet *divine*. Tully perfectly adored him; said, he was justly called by Panetius, the divine, the most sacred, the Homer of philosophers; entitled him to Atticus, *Deus ille noster*, he is our God; thought, that if Jupiter had spoken Greek, he would have spoken in Plato's language;—and made him so implicitly his guide in wisdom and philosophy,

as to declare, that he would rather err with Plato,
than be right with any other.

The Grecian commonwealth, says Harris, while
they maintained their liberty, were the most heroic
confederacy that ever existed. They were the politest,
the bravest, and the wisest of men. In the short space
of little more than a century, they became such states-
men, warriors, orators, historians, physicians, poets,
critics, painters, sculptors, architects, and (last of all)
philosophers, as almost compels us to consider *that golden period*, as a providential event, in honour of hu-
man nature, to shew to what perfection the species
might ascend*.

Two of the four very happy ages for learned men,
as mentioned by Dr. Blair, are, first, the *Grecian*, which
commenced near the time of the Peloponnesian war,
and extended to the time of Alexander the Great, within
which period we have Aristote, Anacreon, Apelles,
Aristophanes, Æschylus, Demosthenes, Herodotus,
Euripides, Isocrates, Lysias, Pindar, Plato, Phidias,
Praxiteles, Menander, Socrates, Sophocles, Æschines,
Theocrites, Thucidides, and Xenophon. The second
is the *Roman*, included nearly within the days of Julius
and Augustus Cæsar; affording us Catullus, Cæsar,
Cicero, Horace, Livy, Lucretius, Ovid, Phædrus, Pro-
pertius, Terence, Tibullus, Sallust, Varro, Virgil, and
Vitruvius.

Homer, the most ancient of the Greek poets†, was
the father of poetry, as Herodotus was of history, and
Hippocrates of physic. His works were very highly
esteemed by Lycurgus, Solon, and the kings and prin-
ces of Greece. Lawgivers, the founders of monar-
chies and commonwealths, it is said, took from them
the models of their politics, and learned the art of go-
verning; and captains availed themselves of the same, to
form battles, encamp armies, besiege towns, fight and

* Hermes, fifth edit. p. 416, 417.

† Homer flourished, according to Dr. Blair, about 900 years before Christ;
according to Dr. Priestley 850; according to the Arundelian marbles 900 after
the taking of Troy; and agreeably to them all, above 400 before Plato and
Aristotle. Seven cities disputed the glory of having given him birth.

gain victories. He travelled into Egypt; from whence he brought into Greece the names of their gods, the chief ceremonies of their worship, and a more improved knowledge in the arts than had prevailed in his own country. The only incontestable works which he has left behind him are the *Iliad* and the *Odysssey*.—*Virgil*, the most excellent of all the ancient Roman poets, has left the world ten *Eclogues* or *Bucolics*, four books of *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid* in twelve books. Of these two distinguished poets, Homer (as says Sir William Temple) was, without doubt, the most universal genius that has been known in the world, and Virgil the most accomplished. To the former must be allowed the most fertile invention, the richest vein, the most general knowledge, and the most lively expressions: to the latter, the noblest ideas, the justest institution, the wisest conduct, and the choicest elocution.—*Horace* was the most excellent of the Latin poets, of the lyric and satirical kind, and the most judicious critic in the reign of Augustus. His talents soon made him known to the Emperor and Mæcenas, who, having a particular esteem for him, loaded him with favours. He also contracted a strict friendship with Agrippa, Pollio, Virgil, and all the other great men of his time. His *Odes*, *Epistles*, *Satires*, and *Art of Poetry*, are still extant. That Homer, Virgil, and Horace, were men of extraordinary abilities, their works, which have been handed down to us, abundantly shew; and these the mere English scholar may read in the translations, by Pope, Dryden, Francis, &c.

But while the Heathen world made such progress in other sciences, and the polite arts, there was none made in theology: not because the philosophers and poets neglected to cultivate this science; for there was not a subject they thought of, nor discoursed about, more than the existence and nature of the gods: neither was it for want of natural abilities, nor of learning, as has already appeared; for, the greatest wits, and the brightest constellation of geniuses that ever illuminated the republic of letters, were devoted to the investigation of the principles and causes of things. And surely this

affords a strong presumption, that religious truth is not congenial with the nature of man; for, otherwise, his progress in it would have equalled his other acquirements*.

Human learning and divine knowledge are distinct; and however just the claim of the Heathen to polite literature was, yet, in point of religion, they debased their powers, and were grossly ignorant. It is easy to harangue on the excellency and advantage of the light of nature. It is agreeable to the pride of mankind, to exalt reason, and pronounce it a sufficient guide in religion, and to eternal happiness. But, from the records of antiquity, which exhibit the experience of mankind in all ages, we learn that those, who followed no other instructor, have wandered in uncertainty, darkness, and error: the truth of which is demonstrable, from the existence, extent, and duration of pagan idolatry; to which, we shall now turn our attention.

It is certain that idolatry was in the world soon after the flood: but some attribute its origin even to the antediluvians. In the days of Enos the son of Seth, says Maimonides †, men fell into grievous errors, and even Enos himself partook of their infatuation. Their language was, that *since God had placed on high the heavenly bodies, and used them as his ministers, it was evidently his will, that they should receive from men the same veneration, as the servants of a great prince justly claim from the subject multitude.* Impressed with this notion, they began to build temples to the Stars, to sacrifice to them, and to worship them, in the vain expectation, that they would thus please the Creator of all things. At first indeed, they did not suppose the Stars to be the only deities, but adored, in conjunction with them, the Lord God omnipotent. In process of

* Lectures, supposed to have been delivered, by the author of a View of the internal Evidence of the Christian Religion, to a select party of friends: dedicated to Edward Gibbon, Esq.

† Maimonides was a celebrated rabbi, called by the Jews *the eagle of the doctors*. He was born of an illustrious family at Cordova in Spain, 1131; settled in Egypt, where he spent his life as physician to the sultan; opened a school, which was soon filled with pupils from Alexandria, Damascus, &c. who spread his fame all over the world: he died aged seventy, and was buried in Upper Galilee.

time however that great and venerable name was forgotten; and the whole human race retained no other religion, than the idolatrous worship of the host of heaven.

They might also imagine, that God, the first, all-perfect Being, and Governor of the world, did impart, to beings of a different nature, powers to influence men's happiness; and, upon that account, they terminated their worship in the Sun, Moon, and Stars. We may suppose them to have argued thus: *We can take notice of the profusion of the divine goodness, of that munificence which he hath express to his creatures; and why may we not take notice of the instruments, why not worship the Sun, to express the regard which we have to that luminary, which imparts to us what is necessary for our subsistence and comfort?* Undoubtedly this reasoning was extremely wrong, because all the material beings that conspired to make them live comfortably, did not give those benefits by choice. The heavenly bodies being directed in their rotations by the infinite wisdom, and sustained and continued in their proper orbits, by the almighty power of the First Cause; had the Heathen attended to the voice of reason, they would not have set up idol-gods in opposition to, nor in conjunction with, the one true God, but would have seen it right to have acknowledged his unity, and to have offered worship to him alone.

With this antediluvian superstition the patriarch Ham seems to have been tainted, (says Faber,) and to have conveyed the knowledge of it to his own particular descendants. Although he had been mercifully preserved in the ark, along with the other members of his family, yet his subsequent conduct plainly shewed, that he was not only ignorant of the sanctifying influence of pure religion, but that he was a stranger to the laws even of common decency. The leaven of the ancient idolatry lay secretly working in the bosoms of his posterity, during the space of near four hundred years; but was prevented from openly shewing itself by the dread of Noah, who was still living. At length that venerable patriarch was removed by the hand of death;

and the mighty hunter of men, the tyrannical Nimrod, rose, like a baleful comet, above the political horizon. He was the grandson of Ham, and the son of Cush; and appears to have been the first avowed post-diluvian apostate. The very name indeed of *Nimrod*, which apparently signifies *a rebellious panther*, points out the nature of his offence; namely, his arbitrary conduct in unjustly seizing the dominions of Ashur, in the land of Shinar; and we are justified in concluding, that idolatry was openly established at his metropolis Babylon.

The insertion of a conjecture here, may serve to elucidate the establishment of the first postdiluvian idolatry. Considering the dreadful catastrophe of the deluge, and that the recollection of it could not have been very soon erased from the minds of the Noachidæ, it is natural to suppose, that the anniversary either of its commencement, or of its termination, would be regularly observed by a solemn religious festival.—Such a commemoration, in its primitive simplicity, would doubtless be not only innocent, but even serviceable to the cause of piety and morality; but, at the same time, it would be liable to gross abuse, which in the result proved unhappily the case: for, it is probable, that, previous to the building of the tower, they had begun to entertain too great a veneration for their arkite ancestors. This veneration was by the degenerate Nimrod soon perverted into gross idolatry, and blended with the antediluvian worship of the host of heaven. Noah and the Sun were henceforth regarded as one divine object; and the Ark, in which he was preserved, was profanely reverenced in conjunction with the Moon.

It is not improbable, that the worship of the Moon and the Ark, conjointly, might have originated with the Chaldean astronomers, who, having observed the resemblance of a crescent to a boat, thought that the waxing Moon was no unfit symbol of the Ark: and hence we find, that the very same goddess was sometimes a personification of the one, and sometimes of the other. Varro accordingly asserts, that the Moon,

when in the form of a crescent, was called *Jana**; but Janus is the scriptural Noah, consequently Jana is the Noetic ark or crescent.

Noah however was not the only patriarch worshipped along with the Sun; in subsequent ages Ham not unfrequently obtained this honour. I may here therefore, with propriety, notice a singular sort of confusion, which we find very generally to pervade the mythology of the heathen. Noah and his triple offspring are continually represented to us under the characters of an ancient deity and his three sons; and yet every one of these three sons is, upon various occasions, confounded with his father. Thus Saturn, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, taken conjointly, are evidently Noah, Ham, Japhet, and Shem; nevertheless, Saturn, Jupiter, and Pluto, when considered separately, are all equally the solar Noah, while Neptune very frequently seems to be the same patriarch, adored as a diluvian god. This remark will equally apply to the *Cronus* of Sanconiatho, and his three sons, Cronus the younger, Jupiter-Belus, and Apollo; to the *Brahmè* of Hindostan, and his children Brahma, Vishnou, and Seeva; and to the *Bore* of Scandinavia, and his triple offspring Odin, Vile, and Ve.

This I apprehend to be the only key, that can unlock the hidden meaning of the mysterious polytheism of the ancients. Osiris, Bacchus, Cronus, Pluto, Adonis, and Hercules, taken in one point of view, are all equally the Sun; but, if we examine their respective histories, and attentively consider the actions, which are ascribed to them, we shall be convinced, that, in their human capacity, they can be no other than the great patriarch. In a similar manner, the various goddesses of paganism seem to be all one and the same mythological character; though they sometimes represent the Moon, sometimes the Ark, and sometimes the globe of the Earth emerging from the waters of the deluge†.

From this union of the two primitive superstitions originated the custom of bestowing the names of the

* Varr. de Re Rust. lib. 1. c. 37.

† Juno and Minerva are perhaps the only exceptions to this rule.

hero-gods upon the celestial bodies. As the early post-diluvians, unawed by the recent judgment of God, soon converted the pious remembrance of their ancestors into a blind superstition; and as the idolatrous veneration of the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars was ere long superadded; so these luminaries were esteemed fit residences for their deified progenitors; and, from those lofty stations, they were thought to overlook and direct the affairs of this sublunary world. Modern astronomy still continues to retain the same titles; and Nimrod himself, the founder of this compound idolatry, holds a conspicuous place in the sphere, and is represented as overlooking the affairs of mortals from the brilliant constellation of Orion. The servile flattery of more recent times translated the deified spirit of the first Cæsar into the Julium Sidus; and Herschell, the great astronomer of the present day, adopting the classical compliment without the classical impiety, has given the appellation of *the Georgium Sidus* to his newly discovered planet.

Notwithstanding I have thus given the conjectures of Faber, yet it is generally allowed that the deities of all nations were either ancient heroes, renowned for noble exploits, or kings and generals who had founded empires, or women, become illustrious by remarkable actions or useful inventions. The merit of these eminent persons, contemplated by their posterity with an enthusiastic gratitude, was the reason of their being exalted to these celestial honours. And as the Sun, Moon, and Stars shine forth with a lustre superior to that of all other material beings, they particularly attracted the attention of mankind, and received religious homage from almost all nations. From these beings of a nobler kind, idolatry descended into an enormous multiplication of inferior powers; so that, in many countries, mountains, trees, and rivers, the earth, the sea, and the winds, nay, even virtues, vices, and diseases had their shrines attended by zealous worshippers.

Though the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars became the principal objects of religious worship, yet the most prevalent opinion was, that the Sun was the one su

preme god. It is true, that some of the philosophers believed in the existence of the Almighty, yet they thought he had withdrawn himself from mortals, as being of too sublime a nature to be known by them ; and that he had deputed the host of heaven to inspect the world, as the only gods to be enjoyed by men : of this opinion were the followers of Epicurus. Optimus maximus Cælus Eternus, was an old inscription found at Rome, and intimates, that the heavens were dignified with those epithets which are peculiar to the true God. Plato mentions, how devout Socrates was in worshipping the Sun, and that several times he fell into an ecstasy while thus employed. Jupiter was considered as the father of the gods*, and, as Homer repeatedly shews, was acknowledged to have them at his nod : but they were supposed to have a share in this sovereignty. Though he presided in all affairs, yet Neptune governed the sea, Ceres the land ; and, beside this, every country had its peculiar guardian god, according to the notion and choice of the people : and they offered worship to them all, which was in fact honouring them without distinction. Among this multiplicity of gods, they lost sight of the eternal Deity, from whose hands they had received their existence ; and, while surrounded with the clearest demonstrations of his power and goodness, were blind to his infinite perfections.

Before the use of letters, the first method of conveying knowledge among the Egyptians was chiefly by hieroglyphics, enigmas, symbols, and allegories. Hieroglyphics were the figures of various animals, the parts of human bodies, and mechanical instruments; intended as proper emblems or signs of divine, sacred, or supernatural things; and almost uniformly maintained to be an invention of the priests, to conceal their wisdom from the knowledge of the vulgar: it was a custom to have the walls, doors, &c. of their

* The great goddess Diana, it is said, was his daughter, by Ceres; Apollo was his son, by Latona; Minerva sprang out of his brain, completely armed and fully grown; and indeed most of the other gods lineally descended from him.

temples, obelisks*, &c. engraven with such figures. These were distinguished from common symbols, which were signs of sensible and natural things. Allegory and personification were peculiarly agreeable to the genius of antiquity; and the simplicity of truth was perpetually sacrificed at the shrine of poetical decoration. I have mentioned this method of instruction, to introduce the opinion of a distinguished character upon a point of some importance. Sir John Marsham thinks, that symbols were the origin of animal worship in Egypt†: because by these was recorded the history of their greater deities, their kings, and lawgivers, being represented by animals and other creatures. The symbol of each god was well known, and familiar to his worshippers, by means of the popular paintings and engravings on their temples and other sacred monuments; so that the symbol presenting an idea of the god, and that idea exciting sentiments of religion, it was natural for them, in their addresses to any particular god, to turn to his representative mark or symbol; especially when we consider, that the Egyptian priests feigned a divine original for hieroglyphic characters, in order to increase the veneration of the people for them. These would, of course, bring on a relative devotion to these symbolic figures, which, when it came to be paid to the living animal, would soon terminate in an ultimate worship.

Egypt and the East were the sources, from which, in a great measure, the Greeks equally derived their origin, and their mythology‡. Diodorus Siculus in-

* Some of these have remained to modern times. The first objects which attract the attention, on visiting the palace of Luxor, a village near the ancient city of Thebes in Upper Egypt, are two obelisks of a single block: they are placed in the front of a mole at the distance of about fourteen paces.

† Can. Chron. p. 58.

‡ At the time the Israelites were in Egypt, Idolatry was very prevalent in that country. While they served the Egyptians, they learned to serve their gods also: for a sufficient proof of this, see *Josk.* xiv. 14, and *Ezek.* xxiii. 9, 8. From their coming out of Egypt to the time of the Babylonian captivity they had a strong propensity to Idolatry; and though they lived on miracles during the forty years they were in the wilderness,—on bread rained down from heaven every day, except the seventh or the sabbath; on water brought miraculously out of rocks; their clothes waxed not old, nor did their feet swell; notwithstanding their travels; a cloudy pillar constantly attended them, and guided their motions,—it overshadowed them in the day, and screened them from the scorching rays

forms us, that the Samothracians had a peculiar dialect of their own, which prevailed in their sacred rites*; and Jamblichus plainly declares, that the language, used in the mysteries, was not that of Greece, but of Egypt and Assyria. Accordingly, he highly censures the folly of those, who imagined that barbarous words possessed no inherent signification; and tells us, that the language of the Mysteries was that used by the gods, consequently the most ancient language which was spoken upon earth†. Hence we may learn the meaning of that constant and curious distinction, made by Homer, between the dialect of the gods, and the dialect of men: that of the former was Chaldee or Hebrew; while this of the latter was the more modern dialect of Greece. But the fastidious delicacy of classical ears, and the vain affectation of remote antiquity, induced the Greeks to corrupt various oriental words, and to seek for the radicals of them in their own language. This is confirmed by an expression which dropped from Plato, intimating, What we Greeks receive from the Barbarians, we put into a better dress‡. This Greek dress always served to disguise from whence they received their knowledge. Their being ignorant of the eastern idiom, occasioned them frequently to mistake the meaning of words, taking them in a literal, when they were chiefly to be understood in a figurative sense. They also changed or transposed some letter or letters, to render the pronunciation smoother in their own language. They often mistook the place of worship for the god worshipped: and formed persons out of the titles of deities, or the names of temples and towers: and then invented histories to

of the sun; and, in the night, illuminated their path: yet, after all these peculiar mercies, they were careless of God's instituted worship, and omitted both Sacrifice and the Passover. When Moses was absent from them on the Mount, with God, for near forty days, they impiously called for made gods, to be visible representations of the true God, and signs of his presence with them. Nay, they even made a calf, in imitation of the Egyptian Apis, which was the figure of an Ox, and offered sacrifices to the idol. The matter of Baalpeor proved fatal to many thousands of them: See *Num.* xxv. 3, 4, 5; *Deut.* iv. 3; *Psa.* cxi. 28; *Hos.* ix. 10. And the same disposition for idolatry appeared when they were settled in Canaan.

* *Diod. Bibl.* liv. 5. p. 322. † *Jamb. de Myst.* 7. cap. 4. ‡ *Epinomis.*

support what they had done. Having a high opinion of their own antiquity, they wished to insinuate that every ancient tradition proceeded from themselves; and therefore attributed to their ancestors the merit of great exploits, and the honour of founding cities, where even the name of Greece had not been known*. It is confessed by Serranus† that Plato spoke many things, which he did not understand, drawn from the Phoenician or Syrian theology.

The hieroglyphics, though intended to convey excellent instructions, were mistaken, or but imperfectly understood by the Greeks; who transplanted them into their native land, without making a full investigation; and then added their own fictions, or explications of them; nay, some think that, at length, they metamorphosed them into so many gods. It is evident that they multiplied gods almost ad infinitum. The polite and learned Greeks had about thirty thousand gods; and the enlightened Romans almost beyond enumeration.

The druidical worship among the ancient Gauls, Britons, and Germans seems to have been much like that of other nations. Diogenes Laertius assures us, that the druids were the same among the ancient Britons as the philosophers among the Greeks; the magi among the Persians; the gymnosophists among the Indians; and the Chaldeans among the Assyrians. In this remote island, they worshipped the Sun, under the various names of Bel, Belinus, &c. which names, in their language, were expressive of the nature and properties of that orb. They venerated the mystic circle, that significant emblem of the Sun; and to this object of idolatrous worship, those circles of stones, some of which are still remaining, seem to have been chiefly dedicated: where the druids kept the sacred fire, the symbol of this divinity, and from whence, as being situated upon eminences, they had an extensive view of the heavens. In this shape their massy

* Creighton's Inquiry, &c.

† Serranus was a learned French historical and theological writer, and died A.D. 1598. The work for which he is most known out of France, is his Latin Version of Plato.

temples were universally built; and their sacred dances, in honour of the solar deity, performed. They seem to have worshipped the Moon equally with the Sun; and it has been observed, that the circular temples dedicated to these luminaries were of the same construction, and usually contiguous. They had a great number of other gods, even, according to Gildas, more than the Egyptians; and some of them had been illustrious men, perhaps several of their deified ancestors, and a few others, the same deified mortals that were worshipped by the Greeks and Romans. They worshipped also several godesses, as Andraste, who is supposed to have been the same with Venus or Diana; Onvana, Minerva, Ceres, Proserpine, &c. Nay, to such an extent did they carry this matter, that there was scarcely a river, lake, mountain, or wood, but what was supposed to have some divinities or genii residing in it.

The first of May was a great annual festival, in honour of Belinus, or the Sun. On this day they had prodigious fires in all their sacred places, and on the tops of their cairns, and many sacrifices were offered to that luminary, which then began to warm and cheer them. Of this festival there are still some vestiges remaining, both in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland, where the first of May is called Beltein, i. e. the fire of Bel, or Belinus. Midsummer-Day and the first of November were likewise annual festivals; the former to implore the prolific influence of heaven upon their fields, and the latter to return thanks for the favourable seasons and the fruits of the earth; as well as to pay their yearly contributions to their priests.

Having left the Fountain of Light and Source of true Blessedness, the Heathen entertained a variety of strange and contradictory opinions concerning the *Summum Bonum*, the Chief Good, or final happiness of man. Varro* pretends to enumerate, concerning this, no less

* Varro, usually styled the most learned of the Romans, was born in the year of Rome 638, that is, about 28 before Christ. In the civil wars, he was zealously attached to Pompey; but, after his defeat, soon submitted to Cæsar, who was reconciled to him. From thence he applied his whole time to letters, and had the charge of the Greek and Latin libraries at Rome. Several of his works are still extant.

than 288 different opinions. Solon placed it in a competency of worldly goods, acting honestly, and living temperately: Aristotle—in virtue, health, and outward conveniency; and herein he was followed by his numerous school: Socrates—in knowledge: Pythagoras—in comprehending the perfections of the soul: Zeno—in living according to nature; and Cloanthus adds, that according to nature, is according to virtue: Chrysippus—in living according to the expert knowledge of things which happen naturally: and, among the whole of them, not one placed it in the present and eternal enjoyment of God. Plato thought the discovery of the Chief Good was not easy, and if it were found out, it was not safe to be declared. By travelling, conversation, and study, he had acquired some confused notions of it; yet he did not understand the subject sufficiently to be able to explain it to others*. How strange, says a late author, that they who were giants in all other kinds of literature, should prove such dwarfs in divinity, as to be excelled by those Christians who are acquainted with only the first principles of their religion†.

The Heathen were equally at a loss how to worship God: the duty of prayer, in particular, so strongly recommended and urged in the Scripture, they knew not how to perform. Alcibiades, when going to the temple to pray, met Socrates, who dissuaded him, by proving his inability to perform it, of which he was at length convinced. Whereupon Socrates concluded: " You see, that it is not at all safe for you to go and pray in the temple—I am therefore of opinion, it is much better for you to be silent.—And it is necessary you should wait for some person to teach you how you ought to behave yourself, both towards the gods and men." To which Alcibiades said, " And when will that time come, Socrates? and who is he that will instruct me? with what pleasure should I look on him?" To which he replied, " He will do it who takes a true

* See Stanley's Lives, for more information upon this subject.

† Wolsey's Reasonableness of Scripture Belief.

care of you. But methinks, as we read in Homer, that as Minerva dissipated the mist that covered Diomedes, and hindered him from distinguishing God and man ; so it is necessary, that he should, in the first place, scatter the darkness that covers your soul, and afterwards give you these remedies that are necessary to put you in a condition of discerning good and evil ; for at present you know not how to make a difference." Alcibiades answered, " I think I must defer my sacrifice to that time*." Socrates, approving, said, " It is more safe so to do, than to run so great a risk." Epictetus was so much of the same mind, that he knew no way but to advise every one to follow the custom of his country in worship†. Upon the same account, Seneca rejected all worship‡. In extraordinary cases, the Heathen made a kind of revelation the basis of their worship. Plato says, that laws, concerning divine matters, must be had from the Delphic oracles§, which were accounted among the Heathen, what the prophecies were among the Hebrews.

They had some notions of the necessity of sacrifices, for expiating their guilt, and pacifying their gods, when apprehensive of their displeasure ; and it would have been well had they confined themselves, in their sacrifices, to such animals, fruits, &c. as they thought would be most acceptable ; but we have sufficient proof, that in some cases, the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans, offered human victims. And the druidical creed contained this article, " That nothing but the life of man could atone for the life of man," so their altars frequently streamed with human blood. Upon some occasions they formed, of osier twigs, a huge colossal figure of a man, and having filled it with men, and surrounded it with hay and other combustible materials, they set fire to the pile, and reduced the whole to ashes. For this inhuman purpose, indeed, they preferred such individuals as had been guilty of misdemeanors, as the most satisfactory to their gods ; but when they had no cri-

* See Stanley's Lives, for the same account of Socrates and Xenophon, p. 75.
Enchirid. cap. 38. † Epis. 95. § De Legibus.

minals, they made no scruple of supplying their places with innocent persons. These dreadful sacrifices were offered by the druids for the public, at the eve of a dangerous war, or in a time of any national calamity: and for particular persons of high rank, when afflicted with any dangerous disease.

Though the Heathen entertained the opinion of the necessity of purification, yet they arrogantly assumed to themselves the power of effecting it. Alcinous, the Platonic philosopher, gives the following doctrine of Plato. "Beatitude is a good habit of the genius, and this similitude to God we shall obtain, chiefly by reason, discipline, and institution of wisdom, withdrawing ourselves as much as possible from human affairs, and being conversant in these things only, which are understood by contemplation. The way to prepare, and, as it were, cleanse the demon that is in us, is to initiate ourselves into higher disciplines, which is done by music, arithmetic, astronomy, and geometry, not without some respect of the body, by gymnastic, whereby it is made more ready for the actions both of war and peace*." This is the language of one of the first of the philosophers!—An oracle of wisdom among the Romans presumptuously said, Whoever thanked God for virtue or wisdom? These they considered as their own acquisition, the pure result of their industry. Seneca believed good men to be better than the gods; these being so by nature, those by their own care and labour. Epictetus asserts, that the constitution or image of a philosopher is to expect good, as well as fear evil, only from himself†.

Human nature being thus left to itself, it is no wonder that the practices of the Heathen were equally corrupt with their principles. Their religion was shamefully defective in point of morality. The priests, who pretended to speak from the gods, and deliver the oracles of heaven, said little on virtue and a good life. On the other side, the philosophers, who spoke from reason, made little mention of the Deity in their

* See Stanley's Lives, where Plato's doctrine is copiously inserted, cap. 27.
† Ench. cap. 27.

ethics*. As the most extravagant errors were received among the established articles of their faith, so the most infamous vices obtained in their practices, and were indulged not only with impunity, but authorized by the sanction of their laws. They stupidly paid divine honours to those who, in their lives, had been the greatest monsters of lust and cruelty. The characters of some of their gods, as given by their own writers, both Greeks and Latins, were exceedingly immoral; sufficient to encourage their votaries in the most shocking enormities. Their poets described these vices, and their priests allowed of such descriptions. The sin of drunkenness prevailed among them, even in the feasts of their gods. In that of Bacchus, which was celebrated after gathering in the fruits of the earth, it was esteemed, not only lawful, but commendable, to indulge in gluttony and drunkenness. They thought fornication no crime; nay, it is evident, by what is written of their manners, that part of their religious worship, in honour of the infamous Priapus, Venus, and Bacchus, consisted in acts of uncleanness. The word used by St. Peter, and which our translators have rendered *excess†*, signifies, (says a late divine,) a confusion of the sexes, or those abominable lusts which, at the time of celebrating some of the Heathen festivals, they were excited to in a very high degree. We learn from Macrobius, it was a custom for the men to worship Venus in women's habits, and women in those of men‡. Self-murder was generally held

* Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity, p. 168.

+ 1 Pet. iv. 4.

† Plato, even that man so wife, (says the eloquent Massillon,) and who, according to St. Augustin, had so nearly approached to the truth, nevertheless abolishes the holy institution of marriage; and permitting a brutal confusion among men, he for ever does away all paternal names and rights, which, even in animals, nature hath so evidently respected; and gives to the earth men all uncertain of their origin, all coming into the world without parents, as I may say; and consequently without ties, tendernes, affection, or humanity; all in a situation to become incestuous, or parricides, without even knowing it. Others came to announce to men that voluptuousnes was the sovereign good; and, whatever might have been the intention of the first author of this sect, it is certain that his disciples sought no other felicity than that of the brutes; the most shameful debaucherries became philosophical maxims. Rome, Athens, Corinth, beheld excesses, where, it may be said, that man was no longer man. Even this is nothing; the most abominable vices were consecrated there: temples and altars were erected to them; lasciviousnes, incest, cruelty, treachery, and other still more aban-

lawful; even the famous Cato, thought it a point of honour to take away his own life, which act was unreasonably applauded by most of the Roman authors: Seneca, one of their strictest moralists, commends him for it, and calls it greatness of mind. Revenge was judged to be honourable, and forgiving injuries, a mark of pusillanimity. Aristotle and Cicero speak of revenge as a duty. Profane swearing was common among them; and if not enjoined by their precepts, yet it was recommended by the examples of their best moralists, as Plato, Socrates, and Seneca, in whose writings occur numerous instances of oaths by Jupiter, Hercules, and beasts. Unnatural lust was practised by Aristotle; and Socrates is more than suspected of the same vice: *Socratici Cinædi* was a proverb in the days of Juvenal. And several of the philosophers connived at lying, theft, and other flagrant crimes. The principles of honour, the restraints of shame, the influence of philosophy, were all too weak, to keep their natural evil propensities within any tolerable bounds. It is hardly possible to read the melancholy description of the principles and manners of the Heathen world, given by St. Paul*, without horror and surprise:—to think, that man, once the beloved of God, and the lord of this lower world, should thus deny his Creator, and bow down to dumb idols; should thus, by lust and intemperance, degrade himself to the level of a beast, which has no understanding; and by pride, malice, and revenge, transform himself into the very image of Satan, who has been a murderer from the beginning†.

Of the human soul, what it really is, and what its destination, they had very erroneous ideas. A few of

doned crimes, were made divinities of: the worship became a public debauch and prostitution; and gods, so criminal, were no longer honoured but by crimes; and the Apostle, who relates them to us, takes care to inform us, that such was not merely the licentiousness of the people, but of fages and philosophers who had erred in the vanity of their own thoughts, and whom God had delivered up to the corruption of their heart.

* Rom. i. 20—ult. *Sermons, translated by Dickson, vol. 3. p. 28, 29.*

† See a Sermon preached in New-Ark, June 12, 1744, at the ordination of Mr. David Brainerd, a Missionary among the Indians upon the borders of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania. By E. Pemberton, A. M. Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in the city of New-York.

the sublimest geniuses of Athens and Rome, when they considered the extensive capacity of the soul, and the deep impressions of futurity engraven upon it, were led to infer, that it was immortal, and at death would be translated to some new and unknown state; and that the righteous would be distinguishedly rewarded, and the wicked deservedly punished:---but, after all, this was mere conjecture, and all their arguments very inconclusive. If this assertion be thought too bold, let it be recollect'd that Cicero, who wished to believe the immortality of the soul, and had well studied the opinions of preceding philosophers, found himself at a loss and full of uncertainty. With all his proofs out of Plato, says Locke, with all the arguments his vast reading and great parts could furnish him with for the immortality of the soul, he was so little satisfied, so far from being certain, so far from any thought that he had, or could prove it, that he over and over again professes his ignorance and doubt of it.---So many ages, so many fresh absurdities upon the immortality and nature of the soul, says Maffillon; here it was an assemblage of atoms; there, a subtle fire; in another place, a minute and penetrating air; in another school a portion of the divinity. Some made it to die with the body; others would have it to have existed before the body: some again made it to pass from one body to another; from man to the horse, from the condition of a reasonable being to that of animals without reason.

And when they described the nature and situation of the invisible regions of happiness or misery, they made the wildest guesses, and ran into the most absurd and vain imaginations. The Heaven that they contrived for the entertainment of the virtuous, was made up of sensual pleasures, beneath the dignity of human nature, and inconsistent with perfect felicity. The Hell that they described for the punishment of the vicious, consisted in ridiculous terrors, unworthy the belief of a rational and religious creature. The four infernal rivers, Phlegethon, Cocytus, Styx, and Acheron; Charon, the stern Stygian ferryman; Pluto, Cerberus, the Furies, &c.; Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus, the judges;

Tartarus, with the Giants, Titans, &c.; the passage from Tartarus to the Elysian Fields; the river Lethè, &c.; all are things well known in the schools.

The resurrection of the body from the dead, they viewed as the greatest absurdity, and treated with the most decided contempt. Tertullian informs us, it was denied by every sect of the Heathen philosophers. When St. Paul spake of it at Athens, the Epicurean philosophers mocked*: and, in his defence before Agrippa, it was thought a thing incredible that God should raise the dead †. Augustin says, there was nothing in the whole Christian religion so vehemently opposed by them, as the resurrection of the dead. Pliny, in his natural history, places it among the number of impossibilities, and goes so far as to say, it is what God neither will nor can do. Celsus calls it a detestable and abominable doctrine, and insults the Christians, as mad men, for believing it. And Origen says, in his day, it was the common subject of laughter and derision among the Pagans. The Heathen, as frequently described by the Apostle, had no faith nor hope of the resurrection of the dead ‡.

At the birth of Christ, the Epicureans and Academics, were the most numerous of the Grecian sects of Philosophy, (which was adopted also by the Romans;) and, though they struck at the foundations of all religion, were particularly encouraged by the liberality of the rich, and the protection of those in power. The former maintained, "That the world arose from chance; that the gods (whose existence they did not dare to deny) neither did, nor could extend their care to human affairs; that the soul was mortal: that *pleasure* was to be regarded as the ultimate end of man; and that *virtue* was neither worthy of esteem nor choice." The latter asserted the impossibility of arriving at truth, and held it uncertain, "Whether the gods existed or not; whether the soul was mortal or immortal; whether virtue was preferable to vice, or vice to virtue." Hence we see, that mankind, in this period of darkness and moral depravity, stood highly in need of some divine

* Acts xvii. 32.

† Acts xxvi. 1.

‡ Eph. ii. 12. 1 Thess. iv. 13.

teacher, to convey to the mind *true and certain principles* of religion and morality.

This view of the Heathen fully confirms the declaration of St. Paul concerning them, that *when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became VAIN in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was DARKENED. Professing themselves WISE, they became FOOLS, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.*—And the Psalmist, exulting in Jehovah, says of the Heathen, *their idols were silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not: eyes have they, but they see not: they have ears, but they hear not: noses have they, but they smell not: they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not: neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them.*

We shall conclude our remarks on the Heathen, in the language of Massillon. O God! in permitting human reason to fall into such horrible errors, thou intended to let men know, that reason, when delivered up to its own darkness, is capable of every thing, and that it can never take upon itself to be its own guide, without plunging into abysses from which thy law and thy light are alone capable of withdrawing him. O faith! O gift of God! O divine torch, which comes to clear up darkness, how necessary art thou to man! O infallible rule, sent from heaven, and given in trust to the church of Jesus Christ, always the same in all ages, always independent of places, of times, of nations, and of interests, how requisite it is that thou served as a check upon the eternal fluctuations of the human mind,



Of the Progress of the Christian Religion, from its first Promulgation at Jerusalem, to its legal Establishment under Constantine, the Roman Emperor.

Go, Heathen Sages, strength of Greece and Rome,
Go, hide your glories in oblivion's cave;
While Men of higher, Apostolic fame,
But humble mien, shine forth with brighter ray.—
MESSIAH comes! his pow'r displays;—when, lo!
Philosophy, the pride of Reason, falls;
Idolatry, unmak'd by Truth, is prov'd
An Imposition aided from beneath;
And Delphic Oracles are heard no more.
Moses, by *Jesus's Son* is now eclips'd,
Whom Jewish Priests acknowledge as their God.
The SAVIOUR's Empire rises, grows, prevails,
And Kings embrace and glory in the Cross.

THE state of the world, when our Saviour came in the flesh, evinced the absolute necessity of a radical and general change. He came to introduce a superior dispensation of grace, and to establish a religion simple in its nature, powerful in its operation, and beneficial in its effects. The coming of the Messiah, and the erection, extent, and glory of his kingdom, had long been foretold by the holy prophets; anticipated, and anxiously expected by righteous persons.

The scheme of Prophecy, says professor White, considered in its first opening, its gradual advance, and its final and full completion in the advent, the ministry, the death, and resurrection of the Messiah, and the extensive progress of his gospel among the Gentiles, together with its blessed influence on individuals, societies, countries, and the whole race of mankind; is an object the greatest and most sublime that imagination can conceive; and the most pleasing and important that the human mind can contemplate.

We behold the promise of a Redeemer given to our first parents immediately after the fall, in obscure and general terms. It foretold a victory that would be gained over the enemy that had deceived and conquer-

ed them ; a victory the most illustrious in its effects and consequences ; and which should amply revenge on the *serpent's head* the evils and miseries which he had introduced into the world.

We behold the promise renewed in somewhat clearer language to the Patriarchs ; particularly to Abraham, the great father of the faithful. Here the great purposes of providence begin to disclose themselves with a fuller and brighter lustre at every step. With this venerable patriarch the Almighty condescended to enter into a peculiar covenant ; and, to excite his obedience, he promised to raise up from him a great nation ; to take him and his family under his immediate patronage ; and to make all the nations of the earth blessed through him*.

Hence he was distinguished by the enjoyment of both temporal and spiritual blessings. He possessed cattle, silver, and gold, in abundance. His honour and dignity, the children of Heth, among whom he sojourned, acknowledged, saying, *thou art a mighty prince, a prince of God,* (so the Hebrew reads,) i. e. a very great and renowned prince. He was favoured with the light of God's reconciled countenance, and with direct proofs of his approbation. Canaan was promised to him as a type of Heaven ; and he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. In short, he became an eminent pattern of faith, obedience, self-denial, submission, and holiness.

His posterity were multiplied, until he became the father of a great nation. When Jacob went down into Egypt, they were only seventy, or at the most seventy-five persons, as Stephen reckons them†, after another mode of computation. They sojourned there‡ accord-

* Gen. xxii. 17, 18.—xxvi. 4. See White's Bampton Lecture, Sermon vii. p. 307, 308; in which is given a fine view of the prophecies, which concern human redemption.

† Acts vii.

‡ Moses says, that the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years : but he means, from the time of Abraham's being first called from Ur of the Chaldees, to the giving of the Law at Sinai. The first promise that was made to Abraham was when he was seventy-five years old, (Gen. xii. 3, 4;) and from this date, to the birth of Isaac, which happened when Abraham was one hundred years old, (Gen. xxi. 5.) was twenty-

ing to the LXX, 215 years; during a part of which time, the Egyptians endeavoured, by cruel means, to diminish them. Yet, when they came out of Egypt, they were increased to the number of *sixteen hundred thousand men that were fit for war*; besides women and children, and such young men as were under twenty years of age, and old men who were totally unfit to bear arms*. When they were numbered, a little more than a year after they came out of Egypt, the men fit for war were, *six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty*†. We may conclude, that the women and children under twenty years, and the old men, were as many, and half as many, as those who were numbered. So it may be rationally supposed, that the number, in all, could not be less than fifteen hundred thousand: a prodigious increase from seventy persons, in the space of 215 years!

His posterity possessed the gates of their enemies, in the victories that God gave them over the Amalekites, (who first of all attacked them in the wilderness ‡;) and in the conquests of all those kingdoms and nations in Canaan, and bordering upon it, of which we read in the book of Joshua. And though, afterwards, they were oppressed by their enemies, no less than seven times during the government of the Judges, and afterwards by the Syrians, Assyrians, and Chaldeans, and, at last, ruined by the Romans, it was because they were not obedient to God's voice, in his laws and prophets§.

The promise, that the Messiah should spring from the loins of Abraham, and that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed||, is peculiarly memorable, and contains one reason why the Almighty made choice of, and separated him and his posterity from, the rest of mankind; and is properly made, by the sacred writers, the foundation of his dispensations.

five years. Isaac was sixty when Jacob was born, Gen. xxv. 26. who went into Egypt at one hundred and thirty, Gen. xlvi. 9. and the Israelites sojourned there two hundred and ten, or at most two hundred and fifteen years; which complete the number.

* Exod. xii. 87. † Num. i. 45, 46. ‡ Exod. xvii. 8—16.
§ Psa. lxxxi. 18—15. || Gen. xxii. 18. Gal. iii. 16.

to him ; and may be regarded as a mark to direct the reader to the great object, to which they ultimately referred. Understanding the promise, he was exceedingly desirous of seeing its accomplishment ; and, by a remarkable stretch of faith, was so animated, that, as it were, he leaped forwards with joy to meet the object of his wishes*.

From other promises and prophecies in the Old Testament, we learn, that the great prosperity of the Messiah's kingdom was foretold. *I have set my king, says Jehovah, upon my holy hill of Zion. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession†.* *In his days shall the righteous flourish : and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth. All kings shall fall down before him : all nations shall serve him. His name shall endure for ever : his name shall be continued as long as the sun ; and men shall be blessed in him ; and all nations shall call him blessed‡.* The prophet Isaiah, transported with the foresight of the birth of the Messiah, and of the glorious kingdom of his grace, faith, *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given ; and the government shall be upon his shoulder : and he shall be called—the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, to order and to establish it with judgment and justice, from henceforth even for ever§.* Daniel, in expounding the dream which Nebuchadnezzar had, having described the Babylonian, the Persian, the Grecian, and Roman empires, subjoins, *In the days of these kings, that is, of the Roman emperors, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed ; and the kingdom shall not, like the former, be left to other people ; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever||.* *I saw in the night visions, says Daniel in another place, and behold, one like the Son of Man, which is a character our Saviour often assumed*

* See Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i. p. 46—48.

† Psa. ii. 6, 8. ‡ Psa. lxxii. 7, 11, 17. § Isa. ix. 6, 7.

in the days of his flesh, came to the Ancient of Days, and there was given to him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed*. Gabriel the angel, in foretelling the birth of the promised Messiah to his mother, spake these words, *He shall be great, and the Lord shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever: and of his kingdom there shall be no end†.*

The learned Dr. Jortin says, The miracles of Christ were prophecies at the same time; they were such miracles as, in a particular manner, suited his character, they were significant emblems of his designs, and figures aptly representing the benefits to be conferred by him upon mankind; and they had in them, if we may so speak, a spiritual sense. He cast out evil spirits, who, by the divine providence, were permitted to exert themselves, at that time, and to possess many persons. By this he shewed, that he came to destroy the empire of Satan, and seemed to foretel, that, wherefoever his doctrine should prevail, idolatry and vice would be put to flight.—He gave sight to the blind, (a miracle well suiting him who brought life and immortality to light,) and taught truth to the ignorant world. He himself leads us to this observation, and sets his miracle in the same view, saying upon that occasion, *I am the light of the world; I am come into this world, that they which see not, might see‡.*—He cured the deaf, and the dumb, and the lame, and the infirm, and cleansed the lepers, and healed all manner of sicknesses; to show, at the same time, that he was the Physician of souls, which have their diseases corresponding in some manner to those of the body, and are deaf, and dumb, and impotent, and paralytic, and leprous, in the spiritual sense.—He fed the hungry multitudes by a miracle, which aptly represented his heavenly doctrine, and the Gospel he preached to the

* Dan. vii. 13, 14.

† Luke i. 32, 33.

‡ John viii. 12.

poor, which he himself thus explains, saying, *I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever**.—At his direction the Disciples twice cast the net, and had an astonishing draught of fishes, when, without him, they had long toiled in vain and caught nothing; an image of the success which they should have when they became fishers of men, as he himself explained it. In the miraculous draught related by the Evangelist†, the number of fishes was one hundred and fifty three, which, says Sam. Bafnage, is the number of the sorts of fishes then known; for Oppian reckons up just so many; and this, adds he, was an indication, that persons of all nations and conditions should enter into the Church‡.—His rebuking the winds and the waves into silence and peace, may be considered as an emblem of his spiritual victories over the mad rage of Jews and Gentiles; and his walking upon the sea, seems to have been a prelude of the amazing progress of the gospel, which crossed the wide ocean, and reached the remotest lands§.

Our Saviour, in a conversation he had with Peter, foretold the success and establishment of his own religion. Peter having made a confession of his faith in him, saying, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*;—Jesus returned him for answer, *Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock* (probably pointing to himself) *I will build my church: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* He took occasion, from Peter's name, which signifies a stone, to speak of himself under the metaphor of a rock, upon which he would build his church. And, with regard to its security upon this foundation, he said, *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* It was the custom among the Jews, to have in their gates the chief fortifications of their cities; there were their magazines, armories, and warlike stores; there were

* John vi. 51.

† John xxi.

‡ Ann. Eccl. 1. p. 415.

§ Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2. p. 15—22.

their courts of justice; and there sat their judges and magistrates, the members of the smaller consistory, in council, to hear and determine causes, and exercise judgment. So that, by *hell*, he means the devil's city, (so to speak) which is opposed to the church, the city of the living God; and, by the *gates of hell*, the united power and policy of Satan and his angels; whose attempts to destroy Christianity, would be in vain.

The parable of the mustard-seed, is significantly descriptive of the progress of the Christian religion. The kingdom of heaven, says Christ, is like a grain of mustard-seed, which, when sown, is among the least of all seeds*; but its growth is more prodigious than that of any other; in as much as it becomes a tree, and affords shelter even to the fowls of the air†. By the smallness of this seed, is set forth the beginning of Christ's kingdom: he and his Apostles, compared with the rest of mankind, appeared but like a grain of mustard-seed.—By the strength of the stalk, or size of the tree that it grows to, is represented, that the Gospel would strongly and wonderfully prevail and increase: like the vine brought out of Egypt, which took root and filled the earth‡. So it did; for the Christian religion was carried, as on angels' wings, far and near by the preaching of the Apostles.—And by the use of its branches, when grown up to a tree, namely, that the birds of the air should come and lodge in them, we may gather, that Believers would fly to them for food, for rest, for shade, and for shelter. The description of Nebuchadnezzar's tree is very applicable to the church of Christ: “The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof unto the end of all the earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in

* That the mustard-seed is *among the least of all seeds*, seems to be more accurate than *the least of all seeds*; for it has been remarked that Poppy and Cypress seeds are less than mustard-seed, the latter of which are said to be so small that they can scarcely be seen when separated. Lightfoot shows, that *a grain of mustard-seed* was a proverbial saying among the Jews, to denote the least thing possible; and some mustard-trees were so large, as to admit a man to climb them with as much security as a fig-tree.

† Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

‡ Psa. lxxx. 8, 9.

it was meat for all : the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it*."

The same representation, carried somewhat farther, Jesus gave under another similitude. Christianity, said he, is like a small portion of leaven; which being covered with a large quantity of meal, is not seen at first; but beginning to ferment, by degrees spreads over the whole mass†. This parable may be considered as a kind of prophecy, that his Religion would, in time, overspread the whole world; and though parables of this texture (as we have several of a prophetic cast) were obscure at first; yet, on their completion, they certainly tend greatly to confirm the gospel†. It may also be considered, as elucidating the progress of grace in the heart of a true Believer in Christ. Because, as leaven is of a diffusive quality, so is the grace of our Saviour; when it is received into the heart, it leavens the whole man, the foul in all its powers, the body in all its members: as leaven is of an assimilating quality, so the Gospel, attended with the blessing of God, changes the heart and life into its own likeness: as leaven worketh gradually, yet quickly, so doth divine grace in the hearts of Believers; it soon takes effect, and carries on a work of progressive sanctification: as leaven worketh secretly, and yet powerfully, so the Gospel of Christ is quick and powerful, and its operations are invisible to the bodily eye.

What Gamaliel said of this Religion to his fellow-senators, shows his great discernment and moderation, and leaves it at full liberty to prove its own origin and worth, by either making its way in the world, or soon sinking into obscurity and neglect.---*If this counsel, or this work, be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it* §; that is, if this doctrine be a cunningly devised fable, for the accomplishing of a secular interest, under the colour of religion, Providence will detect the imposture, and it will come to nought; therefore it is needless for you to persecute

* Dan. iv. 11, 12.
§ Acts v. 38, 39.

† Matt. xiii. 33.

‡ Gilpin's Exposition.

it ; have but patience, and the cause will die of itself, and then its propagators will become odious and ridiculous : but, if the doctrine be the truth of God, and he have raised that Jesus, whom they call their master, from the dead, and have put such honour upon him, as they say, and if they have received a commission from him to publish it to the world, ye cannot overthrow it, for the counsel of the Lord shall stand. This was good and seasonable advice for his fellow-senators : but what the principles were whence it proceeded, whether from policy, or from some conviction of the truth of the Gospel-doctrine, or from moderation, he being against persecution for conscience' sake, we cannot determine. Were we to rest the truth of Christianity on its progress and establishment in the world, the conclusion would be decisive, that it is of God.

It is easy to imagine, that the divine mission of our Saviour would be called in question, and his doctrine opposed, by the ignorant, the bigoted, and the wicked, among both Jews and Heathens. The Christian religion would have to combat the rooted prejudices of the Jews, and all the idolatry and superstition among the Heathen, which had obtained in the world for so many ages. It would have to make its way against the united force of power and policy, prejudice and interest. Notwithstanding which, at its first promulgation, which, for distinction's sake, we shall reckon from the Day of Pentecost, it triumphed over all opposition made by princes and philosophers, ungodly men and infernal spirits, to prevent its progress. Many Jews renounced their own religion, that in which they had been educated, and for which they had so great a predilection, and, in the face of persecution, and at the hazard of their lives, embraced the religion of Jesus Christ. Multitudes of Heathens were converted to Christ, and, renouncing their idol-gods, worshipped the true God. Pagan temples were forsaken, for Christian worship ; and the fetters of superstition were broken off, for the glorious liberty of the Gospel. The slaves, with amazement, heard the glad ti-

dings of salvation published ; felt their chains lighter ; and rejoiced, that they should be numbered with the children of God. Eyes that had never seen the light of truth, were opened ; ears that had never heard the sound of mercy, were unstopped ; consciences, festering with the disease of sin, were probed to the bottom, and healed by an application of the blood of Christ. Hearts, in which Satan had long reigned, were changed, and made subject to the Prince of Peace : and tongues which, with regard to true devotion, had rested in silence, were now employed in speaking his praise.

We shall now proceed to trace, step by step, the rapid progress, and extensive spread, of the Christian Religion, from its first promulgation at Jerusalem, to its legal establishment under Constantine, the Roman Emperor ; which, when all the circumstances attending it are considered, will not only appear wonderful, but, it is hoped, afford the sincere Christian both pleasure and profit, and also tend to remove Deistical objections.

At the commencement of our Saviour's public ministry, he chose twelve Apostles to attend him, and then seventy Disciples ; whom he sent by two and two, before his face, into every place whither he himself would go : during which time, it does not appear, that he and they were very successful in their ministry. For, even after his resurrection, and a little previous to his ascension, probably he had not many more than five hundred followers. St. Paul, alluding to this period, says, *he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once*, and the greater part of these were alive when he wrote the Epistle, in which he mentions this remarkable circumstance*. The late reverend Mr. Milner, in his History of the Church of Christ, says, the five hundred brethren, who saw him all at one time, after his resurrection, seem to have made the sum total of his disciples. This appearance of Christ, was the most solemn one he ever made of himself, after his resurrection from the dead ; and, most likely, those who were

* 1 Cor. xv. 6.

favoured with the fight, were the aggregate of his disciples. For this happened in Galilee, where the greater number of them lived. He ordered his Apostles to go from Jerusalem into Galilee, and promised that they should see him there:—probably Mount Tabor, where he had been transfigured, was the place. This command to go, and the promise that they should see him there, would soon be made known to all the disciples; and can it be supposed, that any of them who could go, would be absent on that important and interesting occasion?

Almost immediately after Christ's ascension to heaven, about one hundred and twenty of the above five hundred brethren, assembled together at Jerusalem, in an upper room, in obedience to his command, till they were endued with power from on high. Dr. Lightfoot reckons, that the eleven Apostles, the seventy Disciples, and about thirty nine more of Christ's own kindred, and countrymen who were familiar with him, made up the 120, and that these were a sort of synod, or congregation of ministers. Epiphanius* says, this upper room was upon Mount Sion, and that a Christian Church was afterwards erected upon the ground where it had stood. Nicephorus† adds, the room was in the house of John the Evangelist, in the same Mount: it was, however, some place that was both private and convenient for them; and upper rooms were often sufficiently large for containing a considerable number of persons. And ten days after the ascension, when they were all with one accord in this one place, the promise of the gift of the Holy Spirit was accomplished. The history of the pouring forth of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles, to qualify them with miraculous powers, for the discharge of the high office to which they were called; that is, to be witnesses to Christ in

* Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, born A. D. 332, chosen bishop about 367, was very conversant in ecclesiastical antiquities; on which account he is chiefly regarded.

† Nicephorus Callistus was a Greek historian, who flourished in the fourteenth century, under the emperor Andronicus II. and wrote an Ecclesiastical History, containing the transactions of the Church, from the birth of Christ to the death of Phocas in 610.

Jerusalem, in all Judea, and in Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth, is as remarkable an event as any upon record in the Sacred Writings.

Thus qualified with the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles immediately entered upon the arduous work of the ministry, and the divine blessing remarkably attended their labours. The effects which Peter's sermon, in particular, had upon the Jews, were compunction and inquiry. When they heard, that they had crucified* so excellent a person as God had constituted to be the Messiah, the Saviour of mankind, and head of the Church; and that he had raised him from the dead, taken him up into heaven, and there crowned him with glory and dignity, and that he should subdue all his enemies; they were *prick-ed in their heart* for sin. The work of conversion begins with conviction and remorse; and sin will be painful in the issue, either here or hereafter, however pleasant it seem to the flesh when committed. The solemn inquiry which these Jews made of Peter and the rest of the Apostles, was, *Men and brethren, what shall we do?* This question shows, that they had a sense of

* When a person was crucified, he was nailed to the cross, (as it lay upon the ground,) through each hand extended to its utmost stretch, and through both the feet together; the cross was then erected, and the foot of it thrust with violence into a hole prepared in the ground to receive it. By this means, the body, whose whole weight hung upon the nails which went through the hands and feet, was completely disjointed, and the sufferer at last expired by the force of pain. This kind of death, which was the most cruel, shameful, and cursed death that could be devised, was used only by the Romans for slaves, and the basest of the people, who were capital offenders. Sometimes a fire was kindled at the foot of the cross, that so the sufferer might perish by the smoke and flame. It has been thought, that below the crucified person's feet, was a kind of footstool, or piece of wood jutting out, on which his feet were placed and fastened. Without this, the criminal could not have long continued nailed to the cross, the whole weight bearing upon his hands. Some assert, that there are no traces of this footstool, in those descriptions of the cross which the most ancient Greek and Latin writers have left us; but they speak of a kind of wooden horse, upon which the suffering person was mounted, that so his hands might not be torn asunder by the weight of his body: this was a large peg, fixed about half way up the cross, as appears in Justin, Irenæus, and others. Sometimes they who were fastened upon the cross, lived long in that condition. Andrew is believed to have lived three days upon it; others nine days. Eusebius (lib. vii. cap. 8.) speaks of certain martyrs in Egypt, who were kept on the cross till they were starved to death. Sometimes they were devoured by birds and beasts of prey; and generally after death, by wolves, dogs, and birds. Guards were appointed to observe that none took them down and buried them.—*Burder.*

their sin and danger, and were ready to do any thing the Apostles should direct, in order to escape the wrath to which their crimes exposed them. When sinners are brought thus to know themselves, and inquire of Ministers and Christians, what they shall do to be saved, there is great hope concerning them. A powerful and searching ministry, is a distinguished blessing; and the means that God hath appointed to make men sensible of their lost state, by nature and practice, and to prepare them for receiving pardon and salvation through Christ. Peter directed them to *repent*, of all their other sins, as well as that of their being accessory to the crucifixion of Christ; and, as a proof of the genuineness of their faith in Jesus Christ, to take upon them the profession of Christianity, by submitting to be baptized in his name, for the remission of sins; with a promise that they should receive the Holy Ghost, in his graces and comforts, if not his miraculous and extraordinary gifts. And the same day, on which the Spirit was thus given, and the Apostles began their ministry, *there were added* to the infant church, *about three thousand souls**!

This was a sudden and great accession, and shows, that the Spirit poured forth, attending the preaching of the Apostles, filled it with convincing and converting energy. And how surprising it is, that such a description of persons, so many of them, and in so short a time, should be thus affected with guilty fear, and sorrow for their sins; should submit themselves to the

* Acts ii. 41. A learned commentator observes, that the Greek words Προσ ετεθησαν, rendered *there were added*, emphatically signify, *ta paf's over* to a body of men; and imply, that these persons renounced their former religious profession, and embraced that of the Apostles. It has been commonly asserted, that *the three thousand* here mentioned, were converted by one sermon; but it is probable, that, whilst St. Peter was preaching to the Jews of Judea, in the Syriac language, the other Apostles were preaching, at a small distance, much to the same purpose, in other languages: and it is not to be imagined, that none of them but Peter was blessed, as the means of converting souls. This remarkable circumstance not only confirmed the truth of the Apostles, in laying claim to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but likewise served as a proof of its reality; and as an encouragement to undertake that office, for which it qualified them.

Apostles, and inquire of them, how they were to be saved ; and, by their direction, embrace Christ as the true Messiah, who had been but lately crucified as an impostor, and Barabbas (a robber) preferred to him ! The recent sufferings of Christ ; the prevailing report, that he was risen from the dead ; the present display of the miraculous gift of tongues ; the seriousness, authority, and zeal, with which the Apostles preached ; and, above all, the light and power of the Holy Spirit, contributed to effect this numerous conversion. And not a doubt remains, but that the evidence which supported Christianity, was perfectly satisfactory to those who embraced it : they were at the place where Christ had been betrayed, into the hands of the chief priests and elders ; examined, both in the civil court, before Pilate*, and the ecclesiastical one, before the council ; crucified without the gates of the city, between two thieves, at one of their solemn feasts ; had risen from the dead, to the confusion of the Roman guard, which was placed to watch the sepulchre, to prevent any fraud.

It has been observed, says the pious and learned Dr. Doddridge†, that, as our Lord was crucified at one of the great Jewish feasts, it was fit that he should be glorified at another. And this of Pentecost was cho-

* Pilate wrote, and caused to be fixed to his cross, (called by Matthew *the accusation*, by John *the title*, by Mark and Luke) *the superscription—THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS*. It was a custom with the Romans, to put a writing upon the cross on which a malefactor suffered, signifying the crime for which he died, to vindicate public justice, and shame the person condemned. The one fixed to the top of the cross of Christ, was in large letters ; that it might be read at a distance. It was in three different languages ; Greek, Latin, and Hebrew : in Greek, for the use of the Hellenists : in Latin, for the Romans ; and in Hebrew, for the Jews : the design of this was, that it might be read and understood by people who spoke these languages. As Pilate condemned our Saviour to please the Jews, so he caused this superscription to be put on his cross to please the Romans, particularly the Emperor. He intended it for our Saviour's reproach, but he really did him honour ; for hereby his innocence and sovereignty were proclaimed : here is no crime alleged, but he is declared, *King of the Jews*. The Jews, apprehensive, that, hereby, too much honour was given him, said, *Write not, The King of the Jews*; but that he said, *I am the King of the Jews*. But Pilate answered, *What I have written, I have written* ; as if he had said, *What I have written shall not be altered*: so was he the instrument of publishing the truth, to all that read this writing ; and which was acknowledged afterwards by thousands, who embraced the Christian faith.

† Family Expositor.

sen with peculiar propriety, as next succeeding that of the Passover, at which Christ had suffered: and also, as it was celebrated in commemoration of the giving of the Law from mount Sinai, on that day; and as the first-fruits were then offered and anointed. To these answered the fuller discovery of the Gospel on this occasion, and the first-fruits of the Christian Church by the effusion of the spirit.—The solemnity of the feast; the general expectation of the Messiah, which prevailed among them; and the length of the days, as it was about the middle of summer; would certainly bring great numbers to Jerusalem at that time; who, when they returned, and reported this extraordinary event, would naturally create, in those who dwelt near them, a greater veneration for the doctrine of the Apostles.

During the festival of Pentecost, Peter and John, at the hour of evening prayer*, went up together into the temple; and, as they were about to go in, a certain poor man, forty years old, lame from his mother's womb, who was carried daily to the Temple, and sat at one of the gates, asked alms of them. Having engaged their attention, Peter said, *Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have, give I unto thee: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk.* And he took him by the right hand, and lifted him up: and immediately his feet and ankle-bones received strength. And

* The Jews divided the time, from the rising to the setting of the sun, into twelve hours, which were consequently, at different times of the year, of unequal lengths, as the days were longer or shorter. The *third hour*, therefore, was nine in the morning, and the *ninth*, three in the afternoon; but not exactly, for the *third* was the middle space between sun-rise and noon; which, if the sun rose at five, (the earliest hour of its rising in that climate) was half an hour after eight; if at seven, (the latest hour of its rising there) was half an hour after nine; and so on. The chief hours of prayer, were the third and ninth; at which seasons the morning and evening sacrifices were offered, and incense, as an emblem representing prayer, burned on the golden altar. Though by the death of Christ, all sacrifices, and other things required in the ceremonial law, were utterly abolished, and a new covenant was introduced; yet, that the weak might not be offended, and estranged from his religion, our Lord suffered his disciples to frequent the assemblies of the Jews, and, in some points, to comply with the observances of the law, till a more pure and spiritual form of worship could be established. This is the reason why we find the Apostles so frequently in the temple, at the stated hours of prayer.

Grotius, Doddridge, and Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 4.

he leaping up, stood, and walked, and entered with them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising God.* All the people knew, that he was the poor lame man who sat at the gate of the temple for alms; and they saw him stand without leaning, walk without staff, and heard him praising God (not the Apostles, though no doubt thankful to them) for his unexpected cure. The people, being amazed at this miracle, flocked in great multitudes about the Apostles in Solomon's porch†, earnestly gazing on them, and wondering at the strange cure they had wrought. Peter, seeing this, soon informed them, that he and John had not done this by any power or holiness of their own, but ascribed the honour of it to Jesus; and that they, through faith in his power to effect it, had been the instruments.

After having spent probably some hours in preaching to the people; the Priests, the Sadducees, and the Captain of the temple, being enraged with anger and grief, came, seized, and imprisoned them for that night. The priests were offended, because the Apostles, whom they looked upon only as private men, undertook to preach publicly, and boldly, the religion of Christ, and that even in the temple: the Sadducees were displeased, because, in testifying the resurrection of Christ, they effectually preached that doctrine which they disclaimed and detested; and for the suppression of which, the chief priests and the elders had given large bribes to the Roman soldiers who guarded the sepulchre, and directed them to say, his disciples came by night and stole away his body while they slept‡: (a most improbable story, considering all circumstances!)

* Acts iii. 6, 7, 8.

† Not the same Porch that Solomon built, for that was, together with the whole Temple, destroyed by the Chaldeans, but another built on the same place, by Zerobabel or Herod, and called his.

‡ Christ's resurrection was at the time of celebrating the Passover, a solemn festival of the Jews, instituted in commemoration of their coming out of Egypt; the scene was in Jerusalem, the metropolis of Judea, at that time much crowded with Jews, who came thither from all parts of the earth, to keep the Passover. The actors and witnesses were the Chief Priests and Elders, Pontius Pilate the Roman governor, and the Roman soldiers who guarded the sepulchre. Now, if the story of guarding the sepulchre had been false, it is not to be doubted but that the Chief Priests and Elders, who are said to have obtained the guard, and sealed the door of the sepulchre, would, by some ac-

and the Captain of the Roman garrison, who lay in the tower Antonia, near to the temple, to guard it, seeing such a crowd of people gathered about the Apostles, began to apprehend a tumult.

Notwithstanding, their preaching was attended with astonishing efficacy; for *many of them who heard the word, believed: and the number of the men, exclusive of the women, was about five thousand**. Either five thousand were converted to the Christian faith at once, under Peter's preaching to that great concourse of people assembled in the Portico; which Benson, Henry, an others think was the case; or two thousand were added to the three thousand just mentioned; of which opinion are Doddridge and Paley. According to the belief of the former, the Christian Church would consist of about eight thousand persons; and to that of the latter, of about five thousand: and, in either sense, the prevalence of truth was remarkably powerful and triumphant.

thentic act, have cleared themselves of the folly and guilt imputed to them by the evangelist Mathew, who charges them with having bribed the soldiers, to tell not only a lie, but an absurd one, which carried its own confutation along with it; the soldiers with confessing a breach of discipline, which, by the military law, was punishable with death; and the Governor, with the suspicion, at least, of being capable of overlooking so heinous a crime, at the instigation of the Chief Priests, &c. All these several charges upon the whole government of Judea, might have been answered at once, by an attestation from the Chief Priests, setting forth, that they never demanded a guard to be set at the sepulchre, confirmed by the testimony of the Roman soldiers, (many of whom were probably at Jerusalem when the Gospel was written) denying that they were ever upon that guard. This, not only the reputation of the Chief Priests, but their avowed malice to Christ, and aversion to his doctrine and religion, required; and this, even upon a supposition of the story of guarding the sepulchre being true, they would probably have done, had they been at liberty to invent and propagate what lie they pleased. But that a guard was set at the sepulchre, was, in all likelihood, by the dispersion and flight of the soldiers into the city, too well known in Jerusalem, for them to venture at denying it: for which reason they were obliged to invent a lie consistent with that known fact, however absurd and improbable it might appear when it came to be considered. Now, as the report put into the mouths of the Roman soldiers, by the Chief Priests and Elders, is no proof of the falsehood of this fact, but rather of the contrary; so does the naming of the scene, the actors, and the witnesses, form a very strong presumption of its being true: since no forger of lies, willingly and wittingly, furnishes the means of his own detection; especially when we consider, that this story is related by that Evangelist, who is laid to have composed his Gospel for those Christians who dwelt in Judea, many of whom then living, were probably at Jerusalem when this thing was done.

* Acts iv. 4.

See West on the Resurrection.

On the morrow their trial commenced. Their judges were rulers, elders, scribes, high-priests, and some noted men of their kindred ; the members of the Sanhedrim, the magistrates of the city ; men of the greatest power and learning among the Jews, who, though they might be of different principles and interests, yet were all united, and as one man, in their opposition to the Christian religion, to put it out as soon as it shined forth ; like Herod, who sought to destroy Christ in his infancy. Both the Sanhedrim and the Consistories, which were the supreme and inferior courts among the Jews, sat in a circular form ; the two Apostles, and the man on whom they had wrought the miracle, were placed in the midst of them. They then demanded of them, by what power and authority, human or diabolical, angelic or divine, they had cured the cripple, and preached such doctrine as they had delivered the preceding day in the temple ? Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said to them, the miracle wrought upon the impotent man was *a good deed*, deserving the commendation of the court, and not a prosecution ; and was such as rulers ought not to be a terror to. And respecting that part of the examination, *by what means he was made whole* ; he, raising his voice, said, *Ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel, be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that, by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole.* He proceeds in preaching Christ to them. *This was the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner.* Neither is there salvation in any other : for there is none other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved. Here we perceive, that he was the same in the presence of his judges, that he had been before the common people ; his doctrine to the court, and that to the multitude in Solomon's porch, were alike ; he charged the former with having crucified Christ, and the latter with giving their vote for it. And he preached the resurrection of Christ, in the most explicit and un-

daunted manner, to that assembly of great and wise men ; who, it appears, never once said to the Apostles themselves, that they came by night and stole away their Master's body ; and the silence herein manifested is a direct evidence, that they had no testimony to support what they had authorized the soldiers to publish, as a fact, to the world.

This bold answer produced a considerable effect upon the court. They were filled with wonder and amazement, that these illiterate men*, who had not been educated in their schools and universities, (consequently destitute of the learning that was in vogue among them,) should, nevertheless, discourse so pertinently, and with such pathos. Their courage, and the convincing evidence of truth, accompanied by miracles, confounded and silenced these judges ; but did not bring them over to Christianity. The same sermon, preached to the people the day preceding, was attended with so great success, that some thousands were converted to Christ ; but now, when delivered before this Council, not one of the members embraced this religion. They had the same opportunity of others, but the spirit of pride and persecution, under which they acted, prevented their receiving the divine blessing.

They now commanded the prisoners to go aside out of the council, (under a guard of soldiers, no doubt,) while they held a consultation among themselves upon the whole matter, and what they should do, or after what manner proceed. They wished to be severe, whether right or wrong ; nor hesitated at being unjust, as appears from their treatment of the innocent, righteous, beneficent Jesus, about seven weeks before. But what was most vexatious, was the evidence of that miracle which the Apostles had wrought upon the impotent man : with reluctance they said,—*For that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them, is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it.* Their opinion was, that if they should pro-

* That they viewed the Apostles as extremely contemptible may be gathered from the Greek words, ἀγάμματοι καὶ ἴδιῶται, illiterate idiots.

ceed to extremities, the hatred and rage of the people would be provoked, their own injustice appear as flagrant as the miracle was notable, and all despise and censure them. The fear of man keeps many from doing what the fear of God will not. They at last came to this resolution, (that the report of the miracle might spread no further among the people, into all corners of the country) to menace them with terrible threatenings of the most grievous punishments*. All their care was to suppress the religion of Christ, but in vain; for God had designed that it should spread over the whole world; and *his counsel shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure*†. *The counsel of the LORD standeth for ever, the thoughts of his heart to all generations*‡. *There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the LORD*§. And they called them in, and commanded, (as men commissioned so to do,) *that they speak henceforth to no man in this name*; that is, never more, either publicly or privately, preach, nor pray to God, in the name of Jesus, nor in it work any more miracles.

But Peter and John made this appeal to them: *Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye*||. This was a word in season; for a rule, commonly received among their noted Rabbins, specified, that when God's commands and men's injunctions oppose each other, his must be obeyed,—theirs disobeyed. They added, that they could not forbear proclaiming, wherever they went, the truths relating to Christ, having been eye and ear witnesses thereof, and charged with the highest commission to preach them; and this, through grace, they were fully determined to do, let who would forbid it. Thus they set the malignity and power of their persecutors at defiance. Those who are clearly convinced of the truth and divine authority of the Christian religion, that have felt its saving influence upon their own souls, and duly consider the importance thereof to others,

* The original words, ἀπειλὴν ἀπειλούσθαι, signify this.

† Isa. xlvi. 10 ‡ Psa. xxxiii. 11. § Prov. xxi. 30. || Acts iv. 19.

will give testimony to it, (when called so to do,) in the face of the greatest opposition and danger. When the Council found themselves unable to prevail, they added further threatenings; and so dismissed them.

Being liberated, they went immediately to the rest of the Apostles and Believers, perhaps to the *hundred and twenty*, who still continued together; they reported to them all that their persecutors had said, and, no doubt, what they themselves had answered. These things were related, that the company might join with them in praising God for their deliverance, and praying to him for further mercy.—And when the report had been heard, they, with great fervency, said,—*Lord, thou art the God who madest heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is: who saidst by the mouth of thy servant David**, *Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves in array, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ. For of a truth, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel before determined to be done. And now, Lord, behold their threatenings, and give thy servants to speak thy word with all boldness, while thou stretchest forth thy hand to heal, and signs and wonders are done through the name of thy holy child Jesus†.* To this prayer God was pleased immediately to return a remarkable answer. Of old he testified his acceptance of the sacrifices and prayers of the righteous, by sending, or appearing after some peculiar manner in a

* Acts iv. 24—30.

† Psal. ii. 1, 2. Though David's name is not in the title of this psalm, yet we are here assured that he was the penman of it. The psalm contains a prediction of the opposition that would be made to the Messiah's kingdom. We are told who the opposers would be—the *heathen and the people*, i. e. the *kings of the earth, and the rulers*: by *Kings* here may be primarily intended Herod and Pilate, both Heathens or Gentiles, chief governors in Judea, though not in a strict sense Kings. And by *Rulers* are meant the Jewish Sanhedrim; these began the opposition to the Messiah's kingdom, but it ended not with them. We have the Persons against whom the Psalmist foresaw this opposition would be made; they are the *LORD and his CHRIST*, that is, God and the Messiah. What is done against Christ, the anointed Messiah, God the

cloud: but now, the place, where these persons were assembled, and prayed with one accord, was shaken; probably by a mighty wind like that on the day of Pentecost, when the Spirit was poured out upon them; and being again filled with the Holy Ghost, they boldly preached the word. Particularly it is said, *And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus**. They were chosen to be witnesses of his resurrection, consequently this was the chief doctrine they preached; and, by asserting and proving it, they established the whole Christian system. Dr. Lightfoot thinks, that at this time the Apostles received the power of conferring the Spirit upon others.

In this flourishing state of the primitive Church, Ananias and Sapphira his wife, both professors of the religion of Christ, committed an enormous crime, for which they suffered an alarming punishment. The Christians who had property, sold the same for the maintenance of the Apostles, and the relief of the poor†. These persons, as if they had intended to imitate the zeal and liberality of Barnabas, also sold a possession of land, that they might contribute to this charitable fund; but wickedly agreed, in private, to keep back part of the price, and publicly to deliver the remainder for the whole; that by so doing they might be assisted out of the common stock, as persons who

Father deems as done against himself. So our Lord let the Jews know, *ye have hated both me and my Father. John xv, 24.* And what is done against Christ's Apostles and Ministers, interest and kingdom, is reckoned as done against himself: *He that despiseth you, despiseth me. Luke x. 16.* We have a description of the nature of their opposition to the Lord and his Christ: it is malicious and outrageous,—they rage; it is deliberate,—they imagine; it is resolute,—they set themselves in array; it is confederate,—they were gathered together: but, after all, it is fruitless,—they imagine vain things.

* *Acts iv. 33.*

† Many of the first Christians, who were Jews dwelling in Judea, sold their lands and possessions. The Gentiles did it not when the Christian religion came to them; and none of St. Paul's epistles contain any such precept, or intimate any such practice. The Jews acted thus, though not by command, yet doubtless with the approbation of the Apostles; and the most probable reason for it was this: they knew that Christ had foretold the destruction of their country, which should come upon it before that generation had passed away; and therefore they thought it proper, while there was opportunity, to improve to the best uses their estates, which they should not long enjoy, by relieving the poorer Brethren, and by enabling the first Teachers to pursue their travels from place to place.

Jortin's Remarks.

had given up all they had. Thus were they guilty of sacrilege, covetousness, hypocrisy, lying, and distrust of Providence. Peter, who had the gift of discerning spirits, immediately detected them, and, by a power derived from on high, pronounced the sentence of death, which God speedily executed*. This was an exemplary punishment, inflicted, not from passion, cruelty, nor revenge, but by a prophetic spirit; not by the sword of the magistrate, nor any authority of his own, but by a miraculous and divine power; punishing a notorious lie, told to tempt or try the Holy Spirit, in the beginning of the Christian dispensation. Thus was the dignity of the Spirit of God vindicated, and the honour of the Apostles supported: for hereby it was evident, that they had the Spirit of truth and power, by which they could easily detect that of falsehood; and that they made no pretensions to divine assistance, in which the Spirit could not bear them out. Indeed, such severity in the beginning of Christianity was highly proper, in order to show its divine authority, and to prevent any occasion for similar punishments in future. The effect thereof was, a great dread and unusual awe fell upon all the Christians; and not upon them alone, but upon all others also who either saw or heard of what had happened. Thus were hypocrites and dishonest persons deterred from joining the Church, lest some such judgment should befall them; hence it remained pure.

But while deceivers were terrified by this signal judgment, the sincere were encouraged openly to avow their faith; and such were very numerous, for the sacred Historian faith, *Believers were the more added to*

* Thus Cain, the first murderer, was most signally punished by the immediate hand of God; as were Sodom and Gomorrah, which, in the early ages, were distinguished for their filthiness and abominations. Thus, at the erecting of God's temporal kingdom among the Jews, Nadab and Abihu were struck dead for offering strange fire before the Lord; and Korah and his company were swallowed up alive by the earth, for opposing Moses, the faithful minister of the Lord; and, lastly, Uzzah, for touching the Ark, fell by as sudden and remarkable a divine judgment, when the kingdom was given to be established in the house of David, to teach Israel a reverence for God and divine things. Nay, in establishing even human laws, a severe punishment inflicted upon the first transgressors, often prevents the punishment of others, who are deterred from the like attempts by the sufferings of the first criminals.

*the Lord, multitudes both of men and women**. Here we may observe, that these *believers* were of both sexes; and, as Henry says, notice is taken of the conversion of the women as well as the men, more so than generally was in the Jewish church, in which they neither received the sign of circumcision, nor were obliged to attend the solemn feasts, and they met in one of the outer courts of the temple. But as among the faithful followers of Christ while on earth, so among those that believed on him after he went to heaven, the pious women were particularly regarded. And it is said, that they, as also the men who believed, were *added to the Lord*.—These were such believers, as not only gave their assent to the truth of Christianity, but accepted of Christ, and enjoyed communion with him: which is the privilege of all, as well women as men, who embrace him by faith; there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, for they are all one in Christ Jesus†.

The High Priest, (either Annas or Caiaphas,) and all the members of the Sanhedrim, who were of the sect of the Sadducees, by seeing or hearing of the great increase of the Christian Church, and the miracles wrought among the people by the Apostles, were filled with indignation; and, to stop their further proceedings, they put them into the common prison, among malefactors, to disgrace them. But, while the high priest and his party thought, that they and their doctrine were securely shut up together, and that they would no more trouble the world, the angel of the Lord by night opened the prison doors, brought them forth, and commissioned them, from Christ, to go, stand in the temple, and preach to the people publicly, courageously, and faithfully, *the whole doctrine of Life*‡. And having received that charge, they enter-

* Acts v. 14.

+ Col. iii. 11.

‡ The phrase in our translation is *all the words of this life*. The expression *this life*, we ordinarily refer to the common affairs of this world, or present life; but that it cannot be so understood here, is most evident. By *the words of this life* is meant, either, more generally, the Gospel, which shows us the way of obtaining *spiritual life*, as preparatory to, and the beginning of, *eternal life*, namely, by faith in Christ crucified; (this was the way of obtaining life now in

ed therein, as early in the morning as the attendance of any could be expected, and taught.

The High Priest and the Sadducees, who had imprisoned the Apostles the preceding night, now called a full bench, consisting of the members of the Sanhedrim, and those of the inferior courts in the city, who, unacquainted with their miraculous deliverance, sent to the prison to have them brought. But when the officers returned, and told them that they found the doors shut with all safety, the keepers on their duty, and that the prisoners were gone; they were disappointed and confounded, not knowing what to think of the circumstance, nor whereunto it would grow. Though unwilling to own the hand of God, yet, it appears, they were inwardly convinced, that it was supernatural; and, as a proof of this, turned not their vengeance upon the keepers; who would have been severely punished, had they neglected their duty. In the midst of this perplexity, word was brought, that the Apostles were, in the temple, teaching the people. Then the captain thereof, with a band of soldiers, by order of the grand council, went to take them; and from a fear of the displeasure and resentment of the people, was restrained from proceeding with violence; for these men were venerated for their beneficial miracles and powerful sermons.

When they had brought them before this august court, the High Priest, as president, read the indictment against them, in which he charged them with contumacy and sedition:—*Did not we daily command you, that ye should not teach in this name?** Yet ye have contemned our authority, obstinately disobeyed our injunctions, and continue preaching in Christ's

dispute, cried up by some, and discountenanced by others:) Or, by the words of this life may be here particularly meant, the doctrines of the resurrection of the dead, and a future life, which the Sadducees denied. Go, speak the words of this life, την ζωήν ταῦτα, of this same life: this manner of expression shows it to be a peculiar, transcendently excellent life that is here intended. The Gospel contains and reveals the most excellent and noble kind of life, even spiritual and eternal life, through Christ; offers these to dead sinners; and is the instrument or means by which they are conveyed. * Acts iv. 17, 18.

name, against our express order. *And behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your factious doctrine, and, by representing us as the murderers of your Master, intend to bring the odium and guilt of this man's blood upon us.* Peter and the other Apostles made this reply, *We ought to obey God rather than men.* They justified their disobedience to the command of the council, from its contrariety to the command of God. This is a dictate of reason, a principle admitted and inculcated among the Heathen, as may be seen in Antigona, Euripides, Socrates, and others*. And if it were deemed sedition to represent the Council as the murderers of the benevolent, and holy Jesus, the Apostles would be yet more seditious, and not only fill Jerusalem, but even that court with their doctrine. Accordingly they said, *The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins. And we are witnesses of these things; and so is also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him†.* Their doctrine, their charge against the council, and their courage, were all the same, as when they were last before this court‡. Ministers should not be frightened into a sinful silence, from the dread of any uneasiness it is in the power of their enemies to give them; they serve a Master who is able to protect them, in the faithful discharge of their duty.

When the court heard the bold, firm, and uniform testimony of the Apostles, *they were cut to the heart§,* with rage and indignation. This representation of their sin galled their consciences,---gave them as much inward torment, as if cut to the heart, and increased their malice against the Apostles, and aversion to the holy religion which they preached. They took counsel to slay them; resolving to do that by death, which

* Socrates answered his accusers thus, *O ye Athenians, I will obey God, rather than you.* + Acts v. 30—32. ‡ Acts iv. 10, 11.

§ It has been observed by a learned author, that διεπλούρα expresses the action of those, who, through rage, grate with their teeth, as it were with a saw; from ωγιω, which signifies to cut with a saw. See Acts viii. 54.

they could not accomplish by threatenings and imprisonment: but were prevented from executing their design, by the very excellent advice of Gamaliel*, a member of the council. Therefore, after having scourged, and commanded them not to speak in the name of Jesus, they let them go. This was what Christ had foretold, *They will deliver you up to councils, and they will scourge you†.* A recollection of the treatment that he received, would reconcile them to this ignominy and pain, for Pilate unjustly ordered him to be scourged, after he had repeatedly declared he found no fault in him; and after having received advice from his wife, (like that which this council had from Gamaliel,) *Have thou nothing to do with that just man‡.* So far from murmuring, they even rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name§. Most likely they called to mind what Christ had said to them: *Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you||.* Being set at liberty, they remained not inactive; for *daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ¶.* How ineffectual were the malicious and renewed attempts of the Jewish Sanhedrim, amidst all the pride of dignity and power,

* St. Luke describes the person who gave this advice, by his name, feet, office, and reputation. He was called Gamaliel, which signifies *reward*; he also was a *pharisee* by profession and feet; and a *doctor* of the Law, one who trained up pupils in the knowledge of the scriptures of the Old Testament,—such by office as a professor of Divinity amongst us; he had great repute among the Jews, for his learning and conduct; and was therefore usually called Rabban Gamaliel, a title of the highest eminence, and never given, say they, to any more than seven. Some think he was the person at whose feet St. Paul, (*Acts xxii. 3.*) Stephen, and Barnabas, were brought up; but we want more authentic documents to prove the certainty of this. He is supposed to have continued the *Nasi* or president of the Sanhedrim for 32 years, and to have died about ten years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Christian authors make no doubt of his embracing the faith of Jesus; but at what time he became a convert, or by whose hands he was baptized, they no where tell us. † Matt. x. 17.

‡ Matt. xxvii. 19. § Acts v. 41. || Matt. v. 10—12. ¶ Acts. v. 42.

to intimidate the Apostles, and oppose the counsels of Omnipotence !

These hinderances being removed, *the word of God grew, and the number of disciples was multiplied in Jerusalem greatly: and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith**. The obedience of this class of men, is a remarkable event, mentioned by the sacred Historian, not only as a fact, but as a proof of the power and satisfactory evidences that attended Christianity. It is not improbable, but that some of these had insulted Jesus, or encouraged his enemies to crucify him: and now was their unbelief overturned, their prejudices conquered, and their hearts brought into subjection to Christ. Great is truth, especially that which prevailed: naked, yet victorious over armed error. Their embracing this religion, demonstrates that they believed it to be divine. Strange, (says a sensible Writer) that the Priests should be so! Their reputation, office, and interest led them another way: their characters with their brethren would be lost, and they turned out of the synagogue: their employment, according to their new faith, would be abolished: and all their pecuniary aid thereby cease. How were they to subsist? They had no inheritance in the land; it must have been some irrefragable evidence that caused them to yield obedience to the faith†. Giving up the prejudices of education for the Christian religion: renouncing the emoluments of office, for penury and want; sacrificing honour and dignified character, for contempt, abuse, slander, and the cross; and relinquishing ease and safety, for grievous sufferings, or a violent and cruel death! were no inconsiderable matters. Nothing short of a clear, full, and abiding conviction of the divine authority of Christ's mission; the accomplishment of prophecy in his person, death, resurrection, ascension, and intercession; the sufficiency of his atonement to satisfy divine justice, and purge the conscience from sin; and of salvation in him alone, could have induced and determined them, in these circumstances, to become Christians.

* Acts vi. 7. † Reynolds's Three Letters to the Deist, p. 215, 216.

Now all this success happened at Jerusalem, the identical place where Christ had been lately crucified; and in less than two years from his ascension: which is but a short period in the propagation of Christianity. It is truly singular, that the religion of Jesus, who had been put to death by the Jews, should, in this short time, gain so much credit in their chief city; while all the circumstances of his apprehension, trial, condemnation, and death, were fresh in every person's mind: and, also, that among the numerous converts to the Christian faith, there should be a great company of the Jewish Priests (persons certainly of improved minds, and well qualified to detect any imposture or cheat,) openly avowing Christ, not in some retired part of Judea, skulking in corners for concealment and safety, but in Jerusalem, in the face of those who had crucified him, and at the hazard of losing every thing, even life itself! How will the Deist account for this, without acknowledging the truth of Christianity?

The Christians were not long permitted to remain united in Church fellowship at Jerusalem. The strong prejudice and restless malice of the Jews, against Christ and his followers, soon were actively employed and awfully displayed, in a severe persecution. Stephen, a deacon, and a man of considerable spiritual gifts, as well as extensive usefulness, was one of the first objects of their rage and cruelty*. Being full of faith and the Holy Ghost, he openly wrought great miracles, which, exciting the wonder and admiration of his beholders, served for a confirmation of the religion of Christ. The Jews of the dispersion, who resided in different countries, had synagogues and schools

* The reason why they chiefly opposed him, rather than the Apostles, who both preached and wrought miracles, some think, was because he had been educated in one of these schools; probably in that of the Libertines, which belonged to such Jews as were free denizens of Rome; or in that of Cilicia: and having relinquished the Jewish religion, and embraced Christianity, they were greatly incensed against him on that account. The Libertines were Jews born at Rome, whose grandfathers had been in slavery there, and afterwards made free, Great numbers of Jews taken captive there by Pompey, and carried into Italy, were set at liberty, and obtained their freedom from their masters. Their sons, therefore, according to Wall, would be *liberti*, and their grandsons *libertini*, in the proper sense of the word.

at Jerusalem : to there they sent their youth to be educated in Jewish literature. It is said there were 48 synagogues at this their place, among which some besides denominations from countries we read concerning those of *Liberians, Cyprians, Samaritans, Cilicia, and Asia.*

Now certain persons of these schools, trained by their tutors in the saying of Judas, observing the progress of Christianity in rise up and disputed with Stephen; attempting to destroy, by their arguments, what he promulgated by his discourses. But none of his opponents out of these five sectaries were able to raze the Spirit of Wisdom by which he spake. If him was accomplished that promise of Christ, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your enemies shall not be able to gainsay, nor resist.* When they found themselves defeated, by his unanswerable arguments, rather than yield to conviction, they labored men to swear that he was guilty of blasphemy; after the same manner as had previously been done to Christ⁺. They next proceeded to incite both the government and populace against him: the former to take away his life, for the crime of blasphemy; or if the Sanhedrim should, in this case, follow the good advice that Gamaliel had given them concerning the Apostles, (which was to *restrain from these men, and let them alone*, that then the latter might destroy him in a tumult). Having done this, they violently seized, and haled him to the bar of the Sanhedrim: where their false witnesses, acting according to the private instructions given them, deposed, that they had heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God.

The conclusion of Stephen's answer to this charge, produced a very unhappy effect upon his enemies. Having finished his general discourse to the Jews, he particularly and closely applied it, which *cut them to the heart*, i. e. occasioned as much torment as if they had been cut through with a saw; and they gnashed on him with their teeth,‡ which was an outward evi-

* Luke 21. 15.

† Matt. xxvi. 69.

‡ See Note, p. 88.

dence of their inward anguish and vexation*. But he, being filled with the Holy Ghost, and seeing to what length their malice would go, told them, he was prepared for the utmost severity thereof,—that he saw heaven opened, and Jesus ready to receive him at the right hand of God. On hearing this, they cried with loud voices, stopped their ears, (as if such language were not fit to be heard,) and, rushing forth with one consent, dragged him out of the city, as if to prevent its being further polluted by his doctrine. The witnesses, putting off their upper garments, that they might be more at liberty for the bloody work, laid them at the feet of Saul of Tarsus, (who was accessory to his death,) and, according to the established law of the Jews, on such an occasion, cast the first stones†. His death was not effected by an act of the council, but by a popular tumult; though they pretended herein to execute the law of Moses, which enacted that a blasphemer should die this death.

The pious and charitable disposition in which he suffered, is deserving of attention and admiration. He prayed for himself in these words, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*; and for his murderers in this language, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge*—literally, *weigh not out to them this sin*‡, that is, a punishment proportionable

* Plutarch says, that tygers, hearing the beat of a drum, run mad, and tear their own flesh. So it often is with persecutors; the hearing of the word of God torments and enrages them. At Acts ii. 37. we read of very different effects produced by Peter's preaching: his hearers were pricked in their heart, with grief and sorrow for their sins; and filled with indignation against themselves, for the active part they had taken in Christ's death. But here Stephen's judges were cut to the heart with indignation against him, for charging them with the same sin. The Gospel has various and opposite effects, upon different persons: Ministers are to some, *the favour of death unto death*; and to others, *the favour of life unto life*. 2 Cor. ii. 16. + Deut. xvii. 7.

+ What a striking resemblance between this Prayer of Stephen, and that of Christ offered to his Father, in his last agony on the cross! *Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do*:—Stephen, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge*. Christ, *Into thy hands I commit my spirit*; and having said thus, *he gave up the ghost*:—Stephen, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*; and when he had said this, *he fell asleep*. Stephen died in imitation of this example of Christ, and in obedience to his command, *pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you*. Matt. 5. 44. And he worshipped Christ in the very same manner as Christ worshipped the Father on the cross: he *resigned up his soul to Jesus*, with the same confidence, and almost in the same words, with which Jesus gave up his to God the Father. How amiable the

the benevolence of his religion influencing their hearts, would destroy their enmity against the Jews; for, by this truly divine excellence, it is distinguished from all other religious systems; and where it prevails, harmonizes the jarring passions of men, reconciles enemies on the basis of mutual forgiveness, and cements friendship on the ground of sincere affection. This success was a considerable step towards the calling of the Gentiles, of whom the Samaritans originally were, though better prepared than most of the Heathen to receive Christianity, because they worshipped the true God, and acknowledged the authority of the five books of Moses. Nay, they exceeded, in purity of principle, the body of the Jewish nation, as we do not find, that they either expected the Messiah's temporal reign, or had received the Sadducean tenets, both of which were diametrically opposite to the Christian scheme.

When the Apostles, who were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, by Philip, they sent Peter and John thither, to assist in establishing and building up the new converts. This would have a good effect, for in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word would be established. In proportion as the work of God spreads, it requires and should have additional help; and his servants labour willingly and cheerfully when he worketh with them. Exertion, without fruit, is painful; and the greatest efforts of ministers, without the divine presence and blessing, are useless. How gladly would Philip receive Peter and John, and they, in company with him, heartily enter into the gracious work already begun! he would have no fear of sinking in the esteem of the people on their arrival, and they would have no desire he should:

priding himself in opposing the Apostles, and infecting many persons with his impious errors. (*Irenaeus. lib. 1. cap. 20.*) For this purpose, leaving Samaria, he travelled through several provinces, seeking places where the gospel had not yet reached, that he might prejudice the minds of men against it. (*Theodore. haret. fabul. lib 1. cap. 1.*) At Tyre, in Phoenicia, he bought a common prostitute from the Jews, called Selene or Helene, and took her along with him. (*Theodore. hares. Justin. Apol. 2. Iren. lib. 1. cap. 20. Tertull de Anim. cap. 34.*) He arrived at Rome in the time of Claudius, about A. D. 41; and, under the reign of Nero, acquired great reputation by his enchantments. He pretended himself to be the Christ, and formed a sect of heretics, called *Simonians*.

they had preached the Gospel in the neighbouring parts, travelled on to Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch.

Philip, who was a deacon in the Church, went to the city of Samaria, thirty-two miles, the metropolis of the country of that name, which was a province of Palestine, and, according to Dr. Wells, stretched itself from the Mediterranean Sea westward, to the river Jordan eastward ; including the most considerable part of what formerly belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasses, on the west side of Jordan, and lying exactly between Judea to the south, and Galilee to the north. Our Saviour had previously foretold the success that his word would have in this country. When at Sychar, forty miles from Jerusalem, he thus addressed his disciples, *Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest**. As if he had said,— multitudes of Samaritans are coming out of the city to me, and in other places there are many prepared to receive the Gospel, as fields ready for the reaper's hand. He saw the spiritual harvest ripe already, and that it would be abundant.

In the city of Samaria, Philip preached with great success, for many of the inhabitants received the Truth ; and this appears remarkable from what Luke, the sacred historian notices, namely, that the Samaritans, previous to his arrival, had been some while seduced by the impostures and enchantments of a notable sorcerer, whose name was Simon, and, in their astonishment and admiration, exclaimed, *This man is the great power of God†!* Having become followers of Christ,

* John iv. 35.

† Simon Magus, or the Sorcerer, was a native of Gitton, a village in the country of Samaria. (*Epiphanius, heres. 21. and Justin. Apolog. 2. p. 69.*) Hearing Philip preach, he took upon him the profession of Christianity, and was baptized. The Apostles Peter and John, visiting Samaria, communicated the Holy Ghost to those baptized by Philip, at which Simon became ambitious of the same honour, and proposed to buy it of them. But Peter said to him, *Thy money perish with thee,—thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity.* From this ambitious and covetous proposal, the buying of spiritual offices is called *Simony*; a practice that has too much prevailed among Christians. After being reproved by St. Peter, and his proposal rejected with horror, he fell into much greater falsehoods and abominations; applying himself more closely to magic,

fiah, for the sins of mankind; and of his innocence, meekness, and patience under them, said, *Understandest thou what thou readest?* With great courtesy he replied, *How can I, except some man should guide me?* He then desired Philip to ascend the chariot and instruct him; which he did, and, taking the same scripture, *preached to him Jesus.* The Eunuch forthwith embraced Christianity, was baptized*, and, receiving the Holy Ghost, *went on his way rejoicing.* What a remarkable instance of providence and grace! On opening his book, the scripture, which informed him of the passion of Christ, presented itself; and the Spirit of truth sent Philip out of his way to meet him, who arrived just as he was reading it.

Having embraced Christianity, he would, no doubt, exert himself to propagate it. Accordingly he is said to have planted the Gospel in Ethiopia, where, as most of the ancient histories of that country assure us, there was a flourishing Church. The preaching there of the apostles Bartholomew, Matthew, and Matthias, is not only an additional proof that he had prepared the way for them; but also an evidence, that the success of his ministry was considerable†.

After the conversion and baptism of the Eunuch, Philip was carried, most probably by an angel, to Azotus or rather Ashdod, a city that was about thirty-four miles from Gaza, in the southern part of the country, which had formerly been one of the five cities of the Philistines‡. From thence he passed through Joppa, Lydda, Saron, &c. towns near or upon the sea-coast, and published the Gospel all along, until he came to Cæsarea, then the metropolis of Palestine, where he probably settled; for many years after, St. Paul and his company found him there, (also four of his daughters, virgins, who were prophetesses,) and lodged with him§.

* For the *place* where Philip baptized the Eunuch, see Fuller's *Miscel. Sacr.* lib. 2. c. 8. Pearson, *Leit.* in *Ast. Apost.* p. 72. and Reland's *Palest.* p. 487.

† See Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. 2. cap. 1. Jortin's *Remarks*, vol. 2. p. 73. Some think there had been some knowledge of the true God in Ethiopia, from the Queen of Sheba's time, who made a tour to Jerusalem, 846 miles, to see Solomon, whose fame spread far and wide.

‡ 1 Sam. vi. 17. § *Afts. xxi.* 8, 9.

Perhaps he spent the following years in Tyre and Sidon, and the other Heathen cities, in the neighbourhood of Galilee, preaching the religion of Christ to both Jews and Gentiles, his house being at Cæsarea, a convenient situation for that purpose,

Saul, who like a furious beast of prey, having ravaged the Church*, by entering into every house, halting men and women, and committing them to prison; still breathed out threatenings and slaughter, and finding Jerusalem too narrow a stage for his malice and fury to act upon; also hearing this religion was successful, and that there were Christians at Damascus, the chief city of Syria, 130 miles, NNE. of Jerusalem; he desired of the High Priest letters of authority to the synagogues there, that if he found any professing the Christian name, whether men or women, he might seize and bring them bound to Jerusalem†. He readily procured what he desired, and seems to have been a proper person for executing those orders; being in the vigour of youth, having imbibed strong prepossessions in favour of the Mosaic dispensation, and possessing an intemperate zeal for Judaism. No doubt, the High Priest, (who seems to have been Caiaphas, the inveterate enemy of Christ) much applauded his zeal for extirpating this religion, and, having sealed his commission, dismissed him with wishes of success.

* This is the proper signification of ἀλυσίδετο, which is often applied to the savages of the desert. *Wolfius and Mintert.*

† As Herod, who beheaded John the Baptist, was now in possession of Damascus, greater liberty would be granted the Jews than afterwards. This was a very ancient city of Syria in Asia, it was in being even in the time of Abraham, the birth-place of Eliezer his steward, *Gen. xv. 2*, and was supposed, by some of the ancients, to have been built by one Damascus, from whom it took its name; but the most generally received opinion is, that it was founded by Uz the eldest son of Aram; and it was for a long time the capital of a kingdom called Aram of Damascus. This monarchy proved very troublesome to the kingdom of Israel, and would even have destroyed it entirely, had not God miraculously interposed in its behalf. Julian styled it the *Eye of the whole East*, (*Epis. 24.*) It was destroyed by Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, and was never afterwards governed by its own kings. From the Assyrians and Babylonians it passed to the Persians, and from thence to the Greeks under Alexander the Great. After his death it belonged, with the rest of Syria, to the Selucidae; till their empire was subdued by the Romans, about A. D. C. 70. and it is now in the hands of the Turks. *For a late account of it, see Maundrel's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 117—132.*

He began his journey, with a fixed determination to use, to the utmost, the authority with which he was invested: but, when he came near Damascus, and his thoughts were much occupied on the work he was about to perform there, lo, Jesus, whom he persecuted, appeared to him, and, in a sudden and miraculous manner, revealed himself as the true Messiah:—instantly the ravenous lion became a lamb, and the prodigy of nature a miracle of grace! He, who attempted to put out the light of divine truth, was deprived of corporeal sight, and the hands of those with him, that were to have bound the Saints, led him to Damascus. He continued blind for three days, during which he fasted and prayed. An important season! his blindness would intimate to him the state he had been in, impress him with a deeper sense of the almighty power of Christ, and turn his thoughts inward, while he was less able to converse with outward objects. In this state of darkness and repentance, Ananias, directed by the Lord in a vision, visited him; and, by laying on his hands, opened his eyes; then, as the minister of his peace, said, *And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.* Obedient to the heavenly message, he immediately entered upon the open profession of Christianity*. This was, according to the best authorities, before the end of the year 36, or, at latest, early in the year 37.

He returned not to Jerusalem, for instructions from the Apostles, but went directly into Arabia†; where he

* See Lord LYTTLETON's *Observations on the Conversion of St. PAUL*; a treatise to which Infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer.

† Arabia is a large country, extending from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and so lying to the east and south of the Holy Land. This country took its name from its inhabitants being a mingled people, *Jer. xxv. 20. 24*; composed of the Ishmaelites, Madianites, and Amalekites; the word *Arab* denoting in the Hebrew language to *mix* or *mingle*: and the derivative *Ereb* or *Arabim*, a *mixed multitude*. The country has been from early times distinguished into three parts, Arabia Felix, or the Happy, to the south, so styled from its rich products, and famous for the Queen of Sheba, who came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and whose kingdom was situated in this fertile country; Arabia Petreæ, so called either from its capital Petra built on a rock, or from the rockiness of the whole division, being full of mountains, among which is Mount Sinai, or Horæb, so famous in sacred Scripture. Not far from which, south or south-west, within the bounds of Arabia Petreæ, was situated in the land of Madian, whither Moses fled out of Egypt, *Acts vii. 29, 30*, and which was doubtless so called

might meet with believers, as there were Arabians among the Jews and proselytes, who heard the apostle Peter's first sermon after the descent of the Holy Spirit, many of whom embraced the faith of Jesus Christ.—It is conjectured, that his retirement was for serious meditation, and to receive the Gospel immediately from Christ; who himself, before he entered upon his public ministry, withdrew into the wilderness of Judea. It is reasonable to think, says Lardner, that whilst in Arabia, he was fully instructed, by special revelation, in the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ,—in all the things said and done by him,—in his sufferings, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension,—the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies in Jesus; and received also the Holy Ghost, in a measure equal to that of other Apostles. Whereby he was qualified to preach the Gospel, testify the resurrection of Jesus, and prove him to be the Christ, without receiving either instruction or gifts from other apostles*.

After staying three years in Arabia, he returned to Damascus, and, being furnished with gifts, straightway preached in the synagogues, maintaining that Jesus is the Son of God. The Jews attempted to disprove the truth of what he advanced; but he, being increased in faith and courage, by strength of arguments, from the literal and exact fulfilment of the prophecies in that Jesus whom he preached, confounded and silenced his antagonists. Not satisfied merely with rejecting his doctrine, they consulted how to take away his life; for they viewed him as a grand apostate, whose conversion considerably aided the cause of Christianity. To accomplish their design, they applied to the Governor, whose residence was in the city, to apprehend him, and by a false representation, gained him over to them; but this being known to the Apostle, the Disciples, by

from Madian, a son of Abraham by Keturah. As Arabia Petrea lies to the north of Arabia Felix, so still more north, or rather north-east, lies the third division, called, from its natural barrenness, Arabia Deserta. This reaches up to the very neighbourhood of Damascus; and therefore it is not to be questioned, but that it was the peculiar part of Arabia, into which St. Paul retired after his conversion.

Wells's Geography.

* Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. 2. p. 200.

night, through a window of a house, which probably stood on the wall of the city, let him down in a large basket, suspended by a rope, and so he escaped his hands*.

Having heard that Peter, the apostle of the circumcision was at Jerusalem, he went thither, and abode with him fifteen days. During this time he saw none of the other Apostles, save James the Lord's brother†, that is, according to the Hebrew idiom, his near kinsman. This James was the son of Alpheus, the Virgin Mary sister's husband; so that he was our Lord's first cousin. He was called James the *Just* for his eminent piety, and James the *Less* probably by reason of his low stature. He had a considerable share in the management of the Christian Church in general, and a greater than any in that at Jerusalem. While with them, Peter boldly preached the Christian faith, and defended the same in his disputation with the Hellenist Jews: these had been born in Greece and other Gentile countries, and their synagogues or colleges were at Jerusalem. He disputed with them, as he had done with those at Damascus, and proved that Jesus, whom he formerly had persecuted, and they still opposed, was the promised Messiah, and, no doubt, confounded them as he had the others, by strength of argument. They were much enraged against him; because he was himself a Hellenist Jew, born at Tarbus in Cilicia, and had been a champion for their Cause, but now deserted them; therefore *they went about to slay him*. It is a bad cause that has recourse to persecution and murder when argument fails. The Christians at Jerusalem, having notice of their design, carefully preserved

* At this time Damasus belonged to Aretas, king of Arabia, whose dominions were tributary to the Romans. Herod had married Aretas's daughter, and put her away from him, to take Herodias, his brother Philip's wife: this treatment of his daughter greatly incensed Aretas. Some time after that, there happened a dispute between Herod and Aretas, concerning their boundaries in *Gamala*: which occasioned a battle, and ended in the death of Herod, whose army was utterly routed. After this victory, probably the Jews would have but little interest within the dominions of Aretas, and rather be suspected and watched by him. And to prevail with the deputy-Governor in Damascus to take Paul, possibly the Jews pretended he was a spy from Herod, and an enemy to the Arabians.

† Gal. i. 19.

him, as the Christians at Damascus had done: and conducted him in safety to Cæsarea; from thence they sent him forth, probably by sea, to Tarsus*, where among his friends he might be out of danger, and preach the word of life. His leaving Jerusalem, at this time, was by special direction from the Lord, who said, *Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me: I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles†.*

Pilate was removed from his government in Judea before the Passover in the year 36, probably five or six months sooner, in September or October, A. D. 35, about a year and a half before the death of Tiberias, in a very ignominious manner, by Vitellius, president of Syria. After which, during the remaining part of

* Tarsus seems to have taken its name from Tarshish, the son of Javan, *Gen. x. 45*; and to have been first founded by him, or some of his descendants, who so called it in honour of their great progenitor. From the Hebrew name Tarshish, the Heathen derived the common name Tarsus. Javan settled in these parts, afterwards called Cilicia, being the south-east country of Asia-Minor, and lying on the northern coast at the east-end of the Mediterranean Sea. This was most probably the Tarshish to which the prophet Jonah thought to flee from the presence of the Lord, *Jon. i. 3*. Tarsus stands in a plain on the banks of the river Cydnus, and was all along in ancient times a great trading and rich town; its ships were numerous, and it is mentioned often by the Prophets, on account of its trading with Tyre. It was of such note in the time of the Roman empire, that it was not only made the metropolis of Cilicia, but peculiarly honoured with the privileges of a Roman colony. In the time of St. Paul, it had an academy, the most celebrated in the world; Strabo scruples not to say of the very eminent men in it, that they excelled in all parts of polite learning and philosophy even those of Athens and Alexandria; and Rome itself got from this nursery of learning some of its best professors. Hence St. Paul, being educated in Grecian learning in the schools of Tarsus, became so fully instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, and so well acquainted with Heathen authors. In his writings he quotes several Greek poets, Aratus, *Acts. xi. 28*. Menander, *1 Cor. xv. 33*. Epimenides, *Tit. i. 12*. Having gone through a course of liberal education in this city, he travelled abroad, as Strabo says the students of Tarsus did, to perfect himself in other branches of useful learning. He removed to Jerusalem to study under Gamaliel, an eminent Jewish doctor, under whose tuition he made an uncommon proficiency in the knowledge of the law and the acquisition of rabbinical literature. Some think Tarsus obtained the privileges of a Roman colony, by its firm adherence to *Julius Caesar*, which made the inhabitants citizens of Rome, whence St. Paul was free of *Rome*, by being born in *Tarsus*. Others maintain that Tarsus, though a free city, was not a *Roman* colony, in the time of St. Paul; and that no trace is found of this on the medals, before the reign of *Caracalla*, or *Heliogabalus*; therefore, the privilege of being a citizen of *Rome* belonged to the Apostle, not as being a denizen of *Tarsus*, but by some personal right derived from his father or ancestors. *Well's Geography*, vol. 1. p. 65, vol. 2. p. 237. *Harwood's Introduction to the New Test.* vol. 1. p. 144.—147. *Calmet's Dictionary*.

+ *Acts xxii. 17—22.*

the reign of Tiberias, and in that of Caius, there was no Procurator, nor other person, that had the power of life and death in Judea, until the accession of Herod Agrippa, in the year 41. In that space of time, the Jews would take an uncommon licence, and gratify their malicious dispositions, beyond what they could otherwife have done, without control, and be extremely troublesome to the Disciples of Jesus*.

Not long after Paul's departure from these parts, the churches planted throughout Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, by Philip, and others that were scattered abroad from Jerusalem, by the persecution which arose about Stephen, *had rest and were edified: and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* The persecution, which began at the death of Stephen, near the end of the year 35, or beginning of '36, had continued until now, a space of about four years; and the best commentators seem agreed, that this repose of the Church was occasioned by a general alarm given to the Jews, then the sole persecutors of the Christians, about A. D. 40, when Vitellius, who had gratified them to the uttermost of his power, was recalled, and Petronius, by order of Caligula, who was incensed by some affront said to have been given him by the Alexandrian Jews, attempted to bring the statue of that emperor among them, and to set it up, with the name of Jupiter inscribed upon it, in the *Holy of Holies*; the emperor enjoining him to put to death all who made any resistance, and make the rest of the nation slaves.

* Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. 1. p. 325.

† Philo says, that the tidings of this order having reached Jerusalem, the Jews, abandoning their cities, villages, and the open countries, all went to Patronius in Phœnicia; both men and women, old and young, and middle-aged. Patronius's friends, at a distance, took them for a large army; but, when they came nearer, found it was only an unarmed, lamenting multitude. When they came within sight of Patronius, who was seated upon an eminence, they threw themselves down upon the ground before him, with weeping and lamentation: and, when he ordered them to rise, they approached him with their heads covered with dust, and their hands behind them, like men condemned to die; and then the Senate addressed him in this manner: "We come to you, Sir, as you see, unarmed; we have brought with us our wives, children, and relations; and throw ourselves down before you, as at the feet of Caius; having left none at home, that you may save all, or destroy all," &c. with much more

The Apostles, availing themselves of this season of rest and peace, would, as may reasonably be thought, labour much, and with success: the shining holiness, and amiable cheerfulness of the Christians, would have a happy effect upon others, and invite them to become such. We are to look for the counterpart of the Christian religion in the lives of those who profess it, and of which their regular and circumspect conduct is a powerful recommendation. God restrained the wrath of men, and gave this lucid interval to his persecuted followers, a calm after a storm, lest the spirit should fail before him, and the souls which he had made. It is the duty of the Church to improve her seasons of peace and tranquillity to her own spiritual edification, and thus prepare for new storms. The clearest sky may soon be covered with clouds, and when most serene suddenly rendered terrific by the jarring of opposite elements.—Thus we see how the Doctrine of Christ was promulgated and prevailed; even within the space of six years, from the time of his ascension.

During this peaceful interval, St. Peter travelled throughout all parts of the Holy Land, to confirm the doctrine which Philip and others had preached, confer the Holy Ghost on those converts who were judged proper to be employed in the public offices of religion, ordain ministers, and regulate any other affairs in the Church, as he saw occasion. As well as in other places, he visited the Saints who dwelt at Lydda*, which

to the same purpose: in which they repeated professions of love of their temple and laws, more than of their lives;—and all which they expressed with tears, and all the signs of anguish and distress. Petronius, out of compassion, deferred executing his commission: and to satisfy Caligula, who intended being at Alexandria the following summer, he wrote to him, that the alarm his commission had occasioned among the Jews, was so great, that they were in danger of neglecting the harvest, and the cultivation of their lands, arising from their solicitude for the purity of their religion; and he judged it improper to do any thing that might prevent a sufficient plenty for those who would follow him from Italy, the Princeps of Asia, and other great men in those parts. See Lardner's Credibility, p. 1. b. 1. c. 2. §. 12. and Benson's History of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. 1. p. 206—208.

* *Lud or Lod*, in Hebrew, or by the Greeks and Latins called *Lydda*, or *Dioropolis*, *the City of Jupiter*, seems to have been inhabited by the Benjamites, at the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. Neh. ii. 35. It is one of the three toparchies which were dismembered from Samaria, and given to the Jews. (*Mac.* ii. 34. *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 14. cap. 8.) It was famous for a

was a considerable town of Phœnicia, situated in the tribe of Ephraim, lying between Azotus and Cæsarea, and about thirty-two miles west of Jerusalem. Here he met with a man called Eneas, who, by a palsey, had been eight years confined to his bed; and, feeling the miraculous power, he, in the name of Jesus Christ, perfectly cured him; so that, at his command, he arose, and, as a proof that he was restored, made his own bed! The greater part of those, healed by Christ and his Apostles, was afflicted with chronical diseases, incurable by the medicinal art, so that the power might evidently appear to be of God: and this was notorious also, from these cures being performed in an instant; for nature and art work by degrees, and bring nothing to perfection immediately. This miracle was wrought, not solely for the relief and comfort of Eneas, but, for the benefit of the people in that country also. The inhabitants of Lydda and Saron*, seeing him perfectly restored, and hearing that it was done by the power of Christ, were so convinced of the truth of Christianity, that they turned from Judaism, and became Christians.

Among the Christians at Joppa, twelve miles from Lydda, there was a noted woman, probably an Hellenist Jewess, known among the Hebrews by the Syriac name Tabitha, while the Greeks called her in their own language Dorcas: both words are of the same import, and signify a Roe or Fawn. It appears she was possessed of property, and that her piety disposed her

college of the Jews, which produced many celebrated Rabbis; and the great Sanhedrim sometimes met near it. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews set up several academies in different places of Palestine, and in particular at Lydda, where the great Akiba was a professor for some time. Gamaliel succeeded him, and was obliged to retire to Japhna. After them followed Taspho or Trypho, another renowned Rabbin, who has been confounded with Trypho the Jew, mentioned in Justin's dialogue.

Calmet's Dictionary.

* There were three districts of Palestine called Saron, or Sharon, or Saron: which name was almost proverbial, to express a place of extraordinary beauty and fruitfulness. This Saron is the name of a large, fruitful, and well-inhabited valley, which lay near Lydda, and is said to have extended from Mount Tabor to the sea of Tiberias, and from Cæsarea to Joppa, in which were many villages; and it was noted for its delightful situation, and the fine pasture it afforded for their flocks.—*Compare 1 Chron. xxvii. 29; 1/a. xxxiii. 9; xxxv. 2; lxv. 10.*

to employ it in works of charity. She did not spend her time and estate in making rich apparel for herself, but convenient clothing for the indigent, which is a commanded act of charity :---an indictment against some at the Last Day will be, that, although they had full wardrobes, they suffered the poor to go naked: *I was naked, and ye clothed me not**. This good and useful woman died, on which occasion, it was not necessary to hire mourning women, as was usual among the Jews, for many real mourners present truly lamented their loss.

Hearing of the miraculous cure of Eneas, the paralytic, her Christian friends sent two men to Peter, desiring that he would immediately come to them, at Joppa†. He readily complied: and was led into an upper chamber where the corpse lay; and all the disconsolate widows stood by him, weeping; and shewed the coats and garments (some probably on their backs, and others ready for the distressed poor,) which she had benevolently made. Having put all the company out of the room, (to avoid ostentation and vain glory, and that he might not be disturbed in his addresses to God, by the lamentations of relatives and friends) he reverently kneeled down, and, conscious that nothing short of a divine aid could raise her to life, prayed; and then, turning to the body, (no doubt in the name of Christ,) said, *Tabitha, arise!*---and the Redeemer's power attended the word of his servant, and effected the miracle. At once she recovered both life and

* Matt. xxv. 54.

† Joppa is a sea-port town of Palestine, lying south of Cæsarea; and antiently the only port to Jerusalem, whence all the materials sent from Tyre towards the building of Solomon's temple were brought hither and landed. (2 Chron. ii. 16.) It is said to have been built by Japhet, and from him to have taken its name *Japho*, afterwards moulded into *Joppa*; and even the heathen geographers speak of it as built before the flood. It is now called *Jaffa* by the Turks, somewhat nearer to its first appellation. Here it was that the prophet Jonas took shipping for Tarshish, when he would have declined delivering the message he had received from the Lord, to prophecy against Ninevah for its wickedness. (Jon. i. 3.) It is 50 miles N W. of Jerusalem, or according to others only 27: and 100 from Acre. It was taken by the French under Bonaparte, in Feb. 1799, but since retaken and fortified. On the 30th of Sept. 1800, the foundation stone of a new fort was laid by the Grand Vizier, assisted by several British engineers; on which occasion five sheep were sacrificed, and the blood sprinkled on the stone.

strength for her master lay dead, which death had covered and gave solemn consciousness that she had pronounced it life. Then came her Lord Jesus, and lifted her up. Not because he needed his help, but as a token of warning her to live again: then, calling in the number of patients her wife, to their great comfort.—*To you moreover the impotent of Dorcas, says Encouragement given earlier back in life*:—“of her friends, when they saw her alive: For the sake of themselves, and if the poor, there was cause of rejoicing; and much more, for own a confirmation of the Gospel. Yet to herself & the grace of regeneration may just, to be called back to these scenes of vanity: but doubtless her remaining days were all more ardently spent in the service of the Saviour and her God. This was a richer reward sent up for her in heaven, and she afterwards attained to a more exceeding weight of glory, than that from whom it abounding a providence had recalled her for a season*.

This was the eighth instance of persons, after they had really been dead, restored to life. 1. The widow's son of Sarepta, a city of the Sidonians, situated in Phoenicia, between Tyre and Sidon, upon the coast of the Mediterranean Sea; with whom the prophet Elisa had judged, while there was a severe famine in the land of Israel†. 2. The Samanmite's son, who experienced the prophet Elisa when at Shunem, a city belonging to the tribe of Issachar, and, according to Eusebius, five miles from Tabor towards the south‡. 3. The dead man, by the Moabites cast into the sepulchre of Elisa, when they invaded the land§. 4. Jairus's little daughter, the ruler of the synagogue, perhaps at Caperneum, a city on the coast of the sea of Galilee, in the borders of Zebulon and Nephthahim||. 5. The widow's son of Nain, a city of Palestine, and, according to Eusebius, two miles from Tabor, towards the south¶. 6. Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha**. 7. Christ himself was raised from the dead. 8.

* *Breviary Expositio.* † *King. xvii. 19.* ¶ *2 Kings iv. 32; Joh. xi. 13.*
{ *2 Kings xiii. 21.* § *Mark v. 42; Matt. ix. 15.*
} *Luke viii. 42—45.* ** *John xi. 44.*

And now Tabitha; beside those who rose when our Saviour did, went into Jerusalem, and appeared to many*. These examples prove, that the general resurrection of the dead, so much spoken of in the Scriptures, and believed by Christians, is possible, which the Heathen believed not. Indeed it must necessarily appear altogether impossible, that any other than the true God could raise the dead; though not that he is able to do it, who is a being of infinite wisdom, almighty power, and absolute dominion; and can work through all the difficulties, and conquer all the impossibilities which reason can suggest against it. Christians believe the resurrection of the dead on the unquestionable veracity of God's own testimony, without attempting to adjust his conduct to their own inquisitive reasonings concerning it.

Hitherto the preaching of the Gospel had been confined to Jews, to Jewish proselytes, and to Samaritans. It was not yet known to the Apostles, says archdeacon Paley, that they were at liberty to propose the religion to mankind at large. That *mystery*, as St. Paul calls it, and as it then was, was revealed to Peter by an especial miracle, while at Joppa, in the house of one Simon, a tanner by trade, where he lodged. At the sixth hour, answering to our twelve o'clock, he went upon the house top, (which, according to the custom in the eastern countries, was flat-roofed, with battlements about it,) to pray; and chose this retired place, to avoid being observed, and guard against distraction in that solemn duty. 'And he became hungry, and would have taken a little refreshment: but while they in the lower apartments were preparing food, he fell into an ecstasy of contemplation, in which his senses were locked up, and his soul was as if it had been separated from his body. Thus abstracted from the world, he saw something in the form of a great sheet, knit at the four corners, descending from heaven to the place where he was; in which was contained all manner of animals that creep on the earth, or fly in the air: and a voice said to him, *Rise, Peter; kill, and eat, freely without distinction.*

* Matt. xxvii. 52, 53.

But he, retaining his Jewish prejudices, objected, saying, *Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten any thing that is common and unclean.* The voice spake to him a second time, *What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.* This was repeated thrice, and then the sheet containing the living creatures, was received up into heaven.—The design of this vision was to show that the ceremonial distinction between clean and unclean meats was abolished,—that the partition wall between Jews and Gentiles was broken down,—that the latter were to be called into the Church,—that he should preach the Gospel to them as well as to the Jews, and that as many of either as would sincerely believe in Christ, should at last be received into heaven. Religious prejudices, as well as common facts, are stubborn things; but soon after this, Peter was so enlarged in his views, and in his liberality, that he declared, *I now at length perceive, that God has not confined his mercies to a particular nation only; but that all are capable of inheriting the promises in Christ Jesus, who are duly prepared by righteousness and the fear of God**.

He was no sooner prepared to preach to the Gentiles, than three men arrived, sent by a captain called Cornelius, (a famous name among the Romans, especially in the families of the Scipios and Syllas,) to invite him to go into Cæsarea†. After telling him, that the Centurion had been warned from the Almighty, by an holy angel, to send for him to his house, to hear him discourse, he consented: and, lodging the messengers that night, the next day he went along with them, and six Jewish

* See Bishop Sherlock's Sermon on Acts x. 34, 35.

† Not Cæsarea Philippi, (mentioned Matt. xvi. 13.) but Cæsarea in Palestine, (formerly called *Stratonice*, or the Tower of Straton) built by Herod the Great, and, in honour of Cæsar Augustus, called Cæsarea. The situation, for trade and other conveniences, was such, that, when the Romans reduced Judea into the form of a province, they made it the seat of government, in preference even to Jerusalem itself, and their governor or proconsul resided there. (See *Joseph. Antiq. b. 19. c. 11.* and *Macknight's Harmony, Sect. 17.*) Josephus says it was six hundred furlongs, or about twenty-five leagues, from Jerusalem. The buildings were all of marble, private houses as well as palaces; but the master-piece was the Port, which was made large as the Piræus at Athens. The old harbour was so bad, that no ships could be safe therein, when the wind was at S W. but the new one, made in the form of a half-moon, and sufficiently large to contain a royal navy, was the most convenient of any on that coast. Herod, who spared neither money nor pains, was twelve years in completing

Christians from Joppa accompanied him; this he judged prudent, that they might be witnesses of what should happen, as this was an affair in which some difficulties were likely to arise.

He found a people prepared for the Lord; for Cornelius had called together his relations and intimate friends, who also were devout *Gentiles*; and, after introducing Peter, in the most respectable manner, into his house, and informing him how he was directed to send for him, he said, *Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God.* He immediately preached the Gospel to them, and God, while he was speaking, poured down the Holy Ghost, in his miraculous gifts, as well as sanctifying influences, as he had done on the Apostles, and their company, on the day of Pentecost. From this he inferred, that as they were baptized with the Spirit, they had a right to Christian baptism, and therefore, by that institution, received them into the Church. This appears to have been about seven years after Christ's ascension.

About a year after this, we find several of the great instruments employed in propagating Christianity, (who had been scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen,) in Gentile countries and cities. They travelled as far as Phenice, the country about Tyre; Antioch, a famous city in Syria: and Cyprus, an island in the Mediterranean; and many other places. Some of them were Jewish Christians of Cyprus, and of the country of Cyrene, in Africa.

The success of the Gospel in Antioch* was such, that the language used by the sacred Historian, to set it

the whole of his plan. But at this time, Cæsar Augustus, after whom the city was named, was dead; and Caius Caligula was emperor. So fleeting is the glory of this world!—When Cæsarea is named, (*says Calmet*,) as a city of Palestine, without the addition of *Philippi*, we suppose this Cæsarea to be meant. Eusebius, the learned historian was born here, and was bishop of this city at the beginning of the fourth century, and of the reign of Constantine the Great.

* This was Antioch in Syria, situated on both sides of the river Orontes, (mentioned by Strabo and other ancient writers) about twelve miles from the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, and two hundred and eighty north of Jerusalem. It was one of the three most famous cities in the world,—Rome in Italy, Alexandria in Egypt, and then this Antioch in Syria. It was built by Seleucus Nicanor,

forth, is, *the hand of the Lord was with them : and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.* The hand is the instrument of working, and here, as applied to God, means that his power assisted them in dispensing his word, and made it efficacious to the hearers. The Church at Jerusalem hearing of this, sent Barnabas, *who, when he came, and had seen the grace of God, manifested in the conversions already among this uncircumcised people, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.* Indeed he was a proper man to be sent among those converts, for he was not only born on Gentile ground, but possessed great piety, zeal and knowledge, benignity and sweetness of temper, which are essential qualifications for a minister of Christ, and would render him acceptable and useful : and so we read, that, after his arrival, *much people, (or a multitude, as it is in the original) was added to the Lord.* What an acquisition to any people is a pastor of such a spirit !

Believers having become numerous, he went to Tarsus to seek Paul, who had now been there near three years, that he might assist him in the ministry ; and, after arriving at Antioch, they continued together a whole year, *and taught much people.* Besides Barnabas and Paul, we find among the Antiochean ministers, Simeon, who, to distinguish him from others of the

the first king of Syria after Alexander the Great, and called Antioch in memory of his father Antiochus, in the year 301 before the Christian era; and was, after that, the royal seat of the succeeding kings of Syria. There were twelve cities, says Strabo, called Antioch, one in Syria, one in Mesopotamia, one in Arabia, and the rest in Asia the Less; and, to distinguish it from all others of the same name, this was called by some *Antiochia Epidaphne.* It took this additional name from its being in the neighbourhood of Daphne, one of the most delightful groves in the world, in the midst of which stood the famous temple of Apollo. In the flourishing times of the Roman empire, it was the ordinary residence of the praefect or governor of the eastern provinces, and was also honoured with the residence of several of the emperors, especially of Verus and Valens, who spent here the greatest part of their time. The emperor Vespasian, Titus, and others, granted very great privileges to it. Among Christians it is also famous, for being the native place of Luke the Evangelist, of Theophilus, hence surnamed Antiochenus, and for its celebrated bishop, Ignatius the Martyr. In the early ages of Christianity, its bishop had the title of Patriarch: but being taken by the Saracens, afterwards by the Turks, it began to decay, and is now in a desolate and ruinous condition, that he has long since removed to Damascus.

fame name, was called *Niger* the black: also Lucius, of Cyrene, whom Origen and Dr. Lightfoot think was Luke the Evangelist; but others, that he was another person, as Luke is generally thought to have been born at Antioch; but, to obviate this objection, the aforesaid authors say, he was educated in the Cyrenean College at Jerusalem: and Manaen, who was either the Foster-brother, or had been educated at the same time and under the same tutor, or had been the constant and intimate companion and favourite at court, of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. By which it appears that he was a person of rank and distinction, and, like Moses, contemning the pleasures of the court, had embraced Christianity, and thought it no disparagement to be a preacher thereof.

We shall remark, as it is worthy our attention, that the *Disciples were called CHRISTIANS first in Antioch,*--The Jewish converts had hitherto been called, by their enemies, *Galileans, Nazarenes*, and such like names, by way of contempt and reproach: and, among themselves, *Saints*, from their holiness; *Disciples*, from learning of Christ; *Believers*, from believing in him as the Messiah; and *Brethren*, from their mutual love, and relation to God and each other. But now these Gentile converts were called by the name of *Christians*, immediately from CHRIST: just as among the philosophers, the *Platonists, Pythagoreans, &c.* were denominated from their several masters. Interpreters conclude, from the original Greek word, by our translators rendered *called*, that the name was given by *divine appointment**, and also was the accomplishment of an old prophecy, which foretold that the Church should be

* *Χριστιανος* signifies, to be warned by a divine admonition, (see Matt. ii. 18. Luke ii. 26. Acts x. 22;) and accordingly Doddridge renders it, *were called by divine appointment*. Dr. Mill has informed us, that the Cambridge M. S. reads this sentence thus: *and then they first named by divine appointment, Χριστιανος the disciples CHRISTIANS in Antioch;* whereby is signified, that Barnabas and Saul first gave them the name of *Christians*; and indeed the common reading fairly rendered, (says a commentator) seems to intimate the same thing: *and it came to pass that they assembled, &c. and that they called the first disciples at Antioch by the name of Christians.*--Witius thinks it a circumstance of remarkable wisdom, that this celebrated name should arise from Antioch, a church consisting of a mixture of Jews and Gentiles, rather than from Jerusa-

*called by a new name**. This Catholic name was calculated to prevent all distinctions, and to consolidate all the members under its influence. The name *Gentile* was odious to the Jews, and that of *Jew* to the Gentiles. The denomination *Christian* includes both in one common and agreeable appellation; and imports their equally partaking of the anointing where-with Christ himself was anointed.---This Christian Church at Antioch was considered the mother-church of the Gentiles, as that of Jerusalem was of the Jewish, or of all the Christian churches; and was sometimes called *the Jerusalem of the Gentiles*.

About this time Herod Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, grandson of Herod the Great, nephew of Herod Antipas (who beheaded the Baptist,) brother to Herodias, and father to that Agrippa, before whom Paul afterwards made his defence; stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church. He cut off the head of James, the brother of John, with the sword: these were the sons of Zebedee. Our Saviour styled them Boanerges, that is, sons of thunder; probably, because James was a zealous preacher, and thundered against the vices of the times, Herod killed him. And seeing that his bloody conduct pleased the unbelieving Jews, he proceeded to take Peter also: this was about the beginning of April, and most probably in the third year of Claudius Cæsar, who granted him the whole kingdom of his grandfather, Herod the Great. He confined the Apostle, and, that he might not escape, delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers, that is, sixteen, consisting of four in each party, who watched him alternately; two of them being chained to him, and the other two walking before the door of the prison: intending after Easter, or rather after the Passover, (so it is in the original, and so it should have been translated) to bring him forth to the peo-

lem, dignified in so many other respects, and that it was a kind of victory gained over Satan, who, from Antioch some ages before, had raised so many cruel persecutors of the church of God. (See his *Life of Paul*, Chap. 3. Sec. 5.) See some excellent thoughts on the Sacred Import of the Christian Name, in *President Davies's 18th Sermon*.

* Isa. lxii. 2; and lxv. 15.

ple, and, at their desire, put him to death. But prayer was made without ceasing by the Church to God for him, and the very night before Herod intended bringing him forth, he was delivered out of prison by the ministry of an Angel, and saved from death. Herod did not long survive this; for the angel of the Lord smote him with a loathsome disease, and he became worm eaten*, like a piece of rotten wood, and gave up the ghost in extreme misery, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign; reckoning from the time of his first advancement by Caligula, to the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, being the fourth year of the Emperor Claudius, A. D. 44. On his death, it is observed, that *the word of God grew and multiplied*, as seed sown, which grows up with the increase of thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold.

Cyprus†, already mentioned, was anciently called Macaria, one of the happy islands, which was dedicated

* The word σκωληκός signifies in the general *consumed with vermin*, and may express the disease called *morbus pedicularis*, says Doddridge, from Beza and Elsner. Several persecutors of the people of God have died the same death. His Grandfather, Herod the Great, Jolephus owns had a putrefaction producing worms. (*Antiq. lib. c. 8.*) We read of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jews and profaner of their Temple, that worms sprang out of the body of this wicked man. (*2 Maccab. ix. 8, 9.*) Tertullian mentions of one Claudio Herminianus, a persecutor of the Christians, that while alive worms crept from him. (*In Scap. c. 3.*) So it was with Maximinus, who published a proclamation, engraven on brals, for utterly abolishing the Christian religion. (*Euseb. lib. 8. c. 16.*) Herod Agrippa left issue, namely, Agrippa, a son, then seventeen years old, before whom St. Paul afterwards made an apology for Christianity: Berenice, fifteen years of age, who was married to Herod king of Chalcis, his father's brother: and Drusilla, who became wife to Felix the governor: as well as Mariamne, who is not mentioned in the Scripture. After Herod's death, the kingdom was again reduced to a province.

† Cyprus is situated in the Levant, or most easterly part of the Mediterranean Sea, between 33° and 36° lon. E. and 30° and 34° lat. N. It is 220 miles long, 65 broad, and about 600 in circumference. The name by which it was most generally known is *Cyprus*, said to be derived from *Cypros*, a shrub or tree with which the island abounded; supposed by some to be the Cypres, by others that which is called the *privet*, which bears a little white flower with a very pleasant smell. The first inhabitants were, in all probability, the posterity of Kittim, (*Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 7.*) the brother of Tarthish, and son of Javan; the city, called Cium by the Romans, preserving the name of the first planter for many ages after. It was divided among several petty kings, until Cyrus the Great made them tributary. Probably they submitted to Alexander the Great, though historians are silent as to that event: but it is certain the whole island did to Antigonus about A. A. C. 304. Eleven years afterwards, Ptolemy took it, and it was quietly possessed by him and his descendants till A. A. C. 58; when it was seized by the Romans. In 648, it was conquered by the Saracens; but

to Venus : the Heathen inhabitants lived in ease and sensual pleasures, and indulged in abominable vices in the worship of that goddess. To this Pagan island, God sent Barnabas and Paul, to speak the glad tidings of salvation to the grossly ignorant and wicked inhabitants ; and, as it was not far from Judea, it abounded with Jews : this was an excursion by sea and land of nearly 150 miles. After the Ministers at Antioch had laid their hands upon them, they departed to Seleucia, a city a little to the north-west of Antioch, upon the river Orontes, five miles from the place where it falls into the Mediterranean Sea, and so named from its founder Seleucus Nicator. From hence they set sail for Cyprus, which lies in a westerly direction ; and is reputed to be distant from the main land of Syria about one hundred miles, and about sixty from Cilicia. The first place they arrived at was Salamis, one of the most considerable cities in Cyprus, situated on the eastern extremity, and the nearest port to Syria : it is now called Famacusta. Here they entered into the synagogues of the Jews and preached the word of God. Though they were commissioned to preach to the Gentiles, yet they always made the first offer of the Gospel to the Jews of the dispersion, so that those among them, who received it not, were inexcusable. They had John Mark along with them, who was employed as occasion required.

From thence they went to Paphos, a city on the western extremity, and, as may be seen in Tacitus, famous among the Heathen for the temple and obscene worship of the Paphian Venus. It was also, under the Romans, the seat of the Proconsul, who at that time was Sergius Paulus, a prudent man, well skilled in civil affairs, acting with propriety and caution, and disposed to receive and obey the truth. Having heard

recovered by the Romans in 957. In the time of the Crusades, it was reduced by Richard the First, of England, who gave it to the princes of the Lusignan family, who held it till A. D. 1570, when it was taken by the Turks, and ever since has continued under their tyrannical yoke. When they conquered it, they reckoned 70,000 fighting men, besides old men, women, and children ; and now the whole inhabitants scarcely amount to 40,000. Such are the effects of despotism.

of Barnabas and Paul, and of their doctrine at Salamis, when they arrived at Paphos, he sent for them, as Cornelius had done for Peter, and desired to hear the word of God; which proved the means of his own conversion. They found also with him, a sorcerer, one assisted by the devil in magical arts. The name he had assumed was Barjesus, or the son of Jesus, but his real one was Elymas, which in the Arabic tongue signifies Magian, taken probably from the country Elymais, a part of Persia, the place for magicians or sorcerers. When this magical Jew understood that Sergius Paulus was inclined to hear Barnabas and Paul, he opposed them, (as Jannes and Jambres, Egyptian Magicians, had Moses,) that he might divert his attention, and hinder him from embracing the Christian faith. *Then Saul, (who also is called Paul*,) filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him, and said, O full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness! wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And now behold the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness; and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand†.* This miracle confirmed the Proconsul in the truth of Christianity:—and now St. Paul fully entered upon his apostleship among the Gentiles.

Paul, Barnabas, and John Mark, loosing from Paphos, sailed, most probably, up the river Cestus, to Perga, a city of Pamphylia, which is a country in Asia Minor, near the coast, lying to the north, opposite the western part of Cyprus. Perga was famous among the Heathen for a temple of Diana, and the

* Until now he had been called Saul, but after this he is always called Paul; for which, various reasons have been assigned. Some suppose Saul was his Jewish, Paul his Roman name, and both were given him when circumcised. Others think Paul was given him by Sergius Paulus, as a token of respect towards the instrument of his conversion. Beza gives it as his opinion, that the Greeks and Romans would naturally pronounce his name Paul; as one whose Hebrew name was *Jochanan*, would, by the Greeks and Latins, be called *Johannes*, by the French, *Jean*, by the Dutch, *Hans*, and by the English, *John*; and he thinks that the family of this proconsul might be the first who addressed him by the name of *Pau*.

+ Acts xiii, 10, 11.

yearly festivals there held in honour of her, who was thence styled Diana Pergæa. *The dwellers of Pamphylia* are mentioned among those who were present on the day of Pentecost ; but we are not told that Paul and his company made any converts in this city ; only that John Mark, the nephew of Barnabas, without leave or consent, left them and returned to Jerusalem. Whether he was weary of travelling, or afraid of the difficulties that attended the Gospel, or he did this from a strong affection for his mother and friends, is uncertain. Whatever might have been the cause of his departure, he did wrong in leaving the work, and by this he also much grieved St. Paul : but he at last returned to his office, and was reconciled to the Apostle, as we learn from what he says to Timothy, *Take Mark and bring him with thee : for he is profitable to me for the ministry**.

From Perga they went further into the country, to Antioch, a considerable city in the district of Pisidia, which lay north of Pamphylia, in Asia Minor, and was a journey of about 130 miles. According to their usual custom, they went into the Jewish synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down, probably in the chairs of the doctors, to intimate their errand ; and, after the reading of the law and the prophets†, at the request of the rulers, St. Paul preached to them an excellent sermon ; which it appears, some of the Jews disliking, they went out before it was finished ; while the Profelytes, who were Gentiles by birth, at the conclusion thereof, desired to hear the same subject again the next sabbath. When the service was over, many of the Jews, and religious Profelytes, followed these servants of God to their lodgings, who, seeing how they were affected, persuaded them to continue in the doctrine of Jesus Christ ; showing that it contains the richest display of divine grace, offering pardon to the

* 2 Tim. iv. 11.

† The law and the prophets were divided into as many sections, at least, as there are Sabbaths in a year, and by reading them in rotation, the whole would be read in that space of time. We have something like this plan in our own Churches at present, by which many, probably who do not read much of the Scriptures at home, hear them read on the Lord's-Day.

guilty, purity to the unholy, and eternal life to the faithful.

The next sabbath-day, there was a numerous assembly, almost the whole city came together to hear the word of God: no doubt, some out of curiosity, others with a design to censure and cavil, and several from a sincere desire to be instructed in the doctrine of Christ. The unbelieving Jews, on seeing this large company, wherein were many Gentiles, were enraged, and, being filled with envy, spake against Paul's doctrine; contradicting what he advanced, and, with blasphemy, denying the Lord who bought them. Then Paul and Barnabas, with great freedom of speech, said, *It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we leave you to perish in your infidelity, and turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth**. The meaning is not, says Doddridge, that they intended *no more* to make an offer to the Jews; for we find, they continued to address them *first*, wherever they went. But they openly declared, that, while they continued at Antioch, they would lose no more time in fruitless attempts on their ungrateful *countrymen*, but employ themselves there in doing what they could for the conversion of the Gentiles†. And when these heard, that they were as welcome to the privileges and blessings of the Messiah's kingdom as the Jews, they rejoiced; very highly estimated the Gospel, and the grace of God manifested therein: and as many as were then ordained to eternal life, believed in Christ to the saving of their souls. Thus the fall of the Jews was the elevation of the world, and their loss the riches of the Gentiles.

How astonishing are the dispensations of God! first, he suffered the Gentiles in the early ages to revolt from him, and fall into idolatry, and selected the family of

* Acts xiii. 46, 47; Luke xxiv. 47; Acts i. 8; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Matt. x. 14, 15; Isa. xliii. 6; and xlvi. 6; Luke ii. 32. † Family Expositor.

Abram as a peculiar seed to himself. Now he permitted the Jews to fall through unbelief, and took in the believing Gentiles. Our Saviour's words, in the commission he gave to the Apostles, will explain this mystery. *Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned**. According to which, says St. Paul, when addressing the converted Gentiles, concerning the disobedient Jews, *Well; because of unbelieving they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear. For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell severity; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in: for God is able to graft them in again†.* This shall be done when their hearts shall turn to Christ‡, from which time they shall see, how all the types and prophecies of the Old Testament have been fully accomplished in him; and the receiving them into the Christian Church, will be overflowing life to the world§.

Notwithstanding the opposition, contradiction and blasphemy of the perverse and unbelieving Jews, *the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region or province.* But when these, notwithstanding all their wicked endeavours to prevent its success, saw this; (being without the civil power in their hands in this Gentile city) they stirred up, by false stories, and misrepresentations of Paul and Barnabas, some females of distinction, who were proselytes, and, by their interest, their husbands and friends also, who were chief men of the city, and so far succeeded as to get them driven from their coasts as pests of the country. The Apostles, at the gates of Antioch, or the borders of their country, or perhaps at both, shook off the dust from their feet, in obedience to Christ's direction||.

* Mark xvi. 15, 16.

§ Rom. xi. 15.

+ Rom. xi. 20—29.

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‡ 2 Cor. iii. 16.

|| Matt. x. 14.

as a witness against them for rejecting the Gospel; which emblematical act was a dismal sign of a forsaken people.

From thence they went to Iconium*, in Lycaonia, a small region or province lying to the north-east of Pisidia, and adjoining southward to Pamphylia and Cilicia, a journey of about 96 miles. Here, that they might testify their unity, strengthen each others hands in the ministry, and each confirm his respective testimony, they went together into the synagogue of the Jews; and spake, so convincingly, courageously, and with such concern for their welfare, and especially in demonstration of the Spirit, and of power, *that a great multitude both of the Jews, and also of the Greeks, believed.* From the time of Alexander the Great, the Gentiles were usually called Greeks; and some have considered them, as proselytes of the gate, and others, as Gentiles of the place. It is supposed, that Thecla, so celebrated in the writings of the ancient fathers, was one of these believers. But, as at Antioch in Pisidia, so here also, the unbelieving Jews irritated and exasperated the Gentiles against Paul and Barnabas, and those also who had become Christians. But the Gospel being successful, the Apostles continued here a long time, *speaking boldly in the Lord, who gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands†.* Until at last, having received intelligence that they no longer could be safe, they fled, according to the order Christ had given them,—*when they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another‡.*

They escaped to Lystra, another city of Lycaonia, about twenty miles south of Iconium, and there preached the Gospel. At this place St. Paul wrought

* Iconium was formerly the capital of Lycaonia, and lay, not in the middle, as it is often placed, but on the western borders thereof; near the confines of Pisidia, Galatia, and Phrygia, to the latter of which it seems once to have belonged; and, according to geographers, it lies thirty German miles from the Mediterranean, opposite the west cape of the island of Cyprus. It was a place of great strength and consequence, and therefore chosen for the seat of the Turkish kings in Lesser Asia, at the time they were most distressed by the western Christians. It is now called Cogni, and in so considerable a condition, as to be the residence of a Turkish Bashaw.

† Acts xiv. 1—3.

‡ Matt. x. 23.

a miracle on a man who was born lame, and so had never walked. If his lameness had been occasioned by some recent hurt, he probably might have been cured by art, as is frequently the case; but it was natural, and by human means incurable. The Apostle said with a loud voice, that all present might hear, and turn their eyes to him, *Stand upright on thy feet**; with which words, accompanied by the power of God, the miracle was instantly wrought; for he immediately rising up, *leaped and walked*, according to the prophecy of what should be done in the days of the Messiah,—*then shall the lame man leap as an hart†.*

When the people saw what the apostle had done, they were so wonderfully and extremely affected, that they lifted up their voices, saying in the speech of Lycaonia, (which some suppose was a dialect of the Greek, others that it rather approached the Syriac,) *The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men.* The Pagans were taught by their Poets to believe, that their gods sometimes made visits to men, and it is probable this opinion originated from the account they had, by tradition, of the appearing of angels to the Patriarchs of old. As, according to the Pagan theology, Jupiter was the chief god, and Mercury the messenger of the gods, so now the Lycaonians thought they had both these among them. And Mr. Harrington pertinently observes, that this persuasion might gain the more easily on their minds, on account of a fable believed among them, that these gods once descended from heaven in a human shape, and had been entertained by Lycaon, from whom the Lycaonians received their name‡. They called Barnabas, who perhaps was stately, *Jupiter*, whom the Heathen represented as old, but vigorous, robust, noble, and majestic; and Paul, *Mercury*, because he was the chief speaker. Religious veneration for these men led the priest of Jupiter, whose statue and altar stood before the city gate, to attempt to offer sacrifices, and worship them as gods; in which religious act the

* Acts iv. 10.

+ Isa. xxxv. 6.

‡ Harrington's Works, p. 330.

people were ready and anxious to unite. When the Apostles heard of this, they, in detestation of the undue honours intended them, rent their clothes, which was an ancient ceremony, expressive of extreme grief and sorrow, and usually practised by the Jews* ; and sprang in among the people, using cogent arguments against their conduct, by which they could scarcely restrain them from their idolatrous design.

One would imagine, from these appearances, that if Paul and Barnabas were safe from persecution at any place, it would be at Lystra, where the inhabitants took them for gods ; yet here it unavoidably came upon them. The Jews, their most constant enemies, followed them from Antioch and Iconium, and, representing them as odious, persuaded the inconstant multitude to stone Paul†, the chief speaker, and, concluding that he was dead, dragged him out of the city. How unreasonable, and mad with rage, were the Jews against the Gospel ! How barbarous and unjust were these persecutors who stoned Paul, not by a judicial sentence, but in a popular tumult ; which would remind him of the like illegal procedure at Stephen's death. Who would value himself upon the applauses of a multitude, says Doddridge, when he sees how soon these changeable inhabitants were instigated to assault him as a malefactor, whom, but a few days before, they were ready to adore as a god ; and how easily they were prevailed upon to exchange the instruments of sacrifice for those of murder ! This was strange, but not new : the voice of the multitude, concerning Christ, was, *Hosanna to the son of David : blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest‡* ; and, about six days after, petitioned Pilate that he might be crucified§. The new Disciples stood round about Paul, from a particular regard to the instrument of their conversion, to give him what help they could, if alive ; and to inter his corpse, if dead. And who that had seen this lamentable sight would not have concluded that here his labours were at an

* Gen. xxxvii. 24; and xliv. 13.

† Matt. xxi. 9.

‡ Cor. xi. 25.

§ Varium et mutabile Vulgus,

end, and that henceforward we should hear no more of him in the history of the progress of Christianity? But God, who amidst all the outrage of these enemies secretly preserved the flame of life from being utterly extinguished, miraculously interposed to heal his wounds and bruises, and on a sudden restored him to perfect health; so that he rose up, and went into the city, probably after sun-set, for the enraged multitude would scarcely have suffered him in the day-time. That he should be able to do this, just after he had been left for dead, was a miracle little less than a resurrection from the dead. Especially considering the manner in which a Jewish malefactor was stoned: the witnesses first threw as large a stone as they could easily lift, with all possible violence upon his head, which alone was sufficient to dash the skull in pieces; all the people then joined, as long as any motion or token of life remained.

The day following, Paul departed with Barnabas to Derbe, another city of Lycaonia, on the borders of Cappadocia, and *preached the Gospel to the inhabitants, and taught many.* Persecution did not drive them from their work, but sent them to many places which otherwise would not so soon have been favoured with the glad tidings of salvation: thus the design of their enemies was over-ruled by divine Providence for the farther promotion of Christianity. This is supposed, by some, to have been the native place of Timothy*; and he, his mother Eunice, and grandmother Lois, are designated by St. Paul, as remarkable for their *unfeigned faith*†. From his youth these very pious women had taught him the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures‡. Mothers have great opportunity of instructing their children in useful knowledge, and those who have genuine piety will improve the same. The happiness or misery of children, in a great measure depends on their care or negligence in this matter. The mothers of the Kings of Judah are constantly mentioned, and as those were good or bad, so were their children.

* Cradock's Apostolical History, p. 85. † 2 Tim. i. 15. ‡ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

And when they had preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of Derbe, they returned nearly by the same route, to Antioch in Syria. On their way, they confirmed the Disciples in the faith of Christ, and exhorted them to continue therein ; and also gave them to understand, that they *must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.* The cross was eminently the way to the crown in those days ; the Head, says Zanchy, having been crowned with thorns, it is not fit the feet should tread on roses ;—an easy way to heaven is a false one. They also ordained ordinary ministers to remain with the Churches, and to instruct and rule them. This was done after the same manner as they themselves had been ordained, to this service among the Gentiles ; that is, by fasting, prayer, and the imposition of hands. The word translated *ordained*, signifies stretching out their hands upon those whom they ordained, or the people, choosing the persons, to be ordained their ministers, by stretching out their hands*. And having done this, *they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed.*

They now passed through Pisidia to Pamphilia, and, when they had preached the word in Perga, they went down to Attalia, a maritime town on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, where we do not read of their having been before. From thence they sailed to the coast of Syria, and went up the river Orontes to Antioch, where they had been ordained and commended to the grace of God, for assistance and success in the work of the ministry among the Gentiles, which now they had faithfully fulfilled. This was their first peregrination, and took up the space of about two years. Having gathered the Church together, they rehearsed all the success God had given them, and how he had opened the door of faith to the idolatrous Gentiles. And there they rested a considerable while, refreshing themselves among their friends, and instructing the Disciples more fully in the Doctrines of Christ.

* Those who wish to see more on this point, may consult Harrington's *Prerogative of Popular Government*, chap. 5; and Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, in loc.

What we have already noticed, brings us to the fifteenth year after the ascension of Christ; at which time a circumstance, of considerable importance, occurred in the Christian Church. Certain Jews, of the sect of the Pharisees, who had embraced Christianity, went from Judea to Antioch, and taught the Gentile converts there, that unless they were circumcised, according to the law of Moses, and became obedient to the whole system of his precepts, they could not possibly be saved by the Gospel. This was the foundation of a great controversy in the apostolical age, as appears from most of St. Paul's Epistles. The Holy Ghost had given a full decision of this point before, in the case of Cornelius, who was a Gentile; but those false teachers pretended that what they taught was a new revelation made to the Apostles at Jerusalem, and that they had authority from them, the Elders, and Brethren there, to impose this upon the uncircumcised converts in the Church at Antioch. Paul and Barnabas much opposed the introduction of this perverse doctrine, but with little effect; and as it was likely to do great mischief, the Antiochean Church at length determined to send them, and some others of their number, to Jerusalem, to consult the Apostles and Elders, concerning the measures which were to be taken to prevent the spreading of the infection. For they well knew, that if circumcision were imposed on the Gentiles, all the other Mosaical ceremonies would follow in course, and they would be obliged to observe all those rites.

Several members of the Church accompanied these messengers part of the way, who on their journey passed through Phenice and Samaria, and declared to the Christians there, for their comfort and confirmation, the success that God had given them, in the conversion of the idolatrous Gentiles in Asia; which account, caused great joy to them all.

These Messengers arriving at Jerusalem, occasioned the first Ecclesiastical Synod, which unanimously opposed circumcision, and wrote letters by Paul and Barnabas, expressing this, to the churches in Antioch,

Syria, and Cilicia. That the false teachers might not stay, these letters were forged or surreptitiously procured, and that the Gentile converts might be thereby confirmed and comforted, the Synod sent Judas, surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the Brethren, to accompany the Apostles to these churches; and their presence might have a tendency to stop the mouths of gainsayers.

The Apostles returned to Antioch, and after continuing there awhile, Paul proposed to Barnabas to go back again, and visit the Churches which they had planted in Asia, and see whether they were in a state of prosperity. To this proposal Barnabas readily consented, but determined to have John Mark, his sister's son, along with them; but he having departed from the work at Pamphilia, Paul would not agree thereto. Probably the uncle said, if his nephew went not he would not go, but Paul insisted that he should not accompany them; and the contention was so sharp, or literally the paroxysm rose to such a height, that the two Apostles separated, and we do not, as far as I remember, read of their association after this. But nothing in the text implies, that the sharpness was on both sides. It is far more probable that it was not; Barnabas lost his mildness and sweetnes of temper, and became sharp and acrimonious; while Paul, who undoubtedly had the right on his side, maintained it with firmness and love. The former, in the heat of his temper, took Mark, and sailed for Cyprus, his native country, without referring the matter to the Church, or waiting for the prayers of the faithful: and the latter made choice of Silas, sometimes called Sylvanus, one of the Synod's messengers, to go along with him. And departing, they were recommended by the Brethren to the grace of God, for the safety of their persons, and the success of their work: which is a strong proof that they thought Paul to be in the right. And as he travelled through Syria and Cilicia, with the letters, he found Churches *established in the faith, and increasing in number daily.* The Gentiles who were well affected, on being assured that they

were not to have the yoke of the ceremonial law imposed upon them, would no doubt flock into the Christian Church.

St. Paul now entered on what expositors, for the sake of distinction, call his Macedonian journey. From Asia he proceeded into Greece, and some think it was now that he sailed from Tarfus, the place of his nativity, which was a haven in Cilicia, to the island of Crete*, and having for some time preached the Gospel there, and planted Churches, he left Titus to set in order the things that he could not stay to settle, and sailed back again to Cilicia. From thence he travelled to Derbe and Lystra, where he before had been.

At Lystra, the Apostle found a young man named Timothy, whose father was a Greek or Gentile, and some think a proselyte of the gate, having renounced idolatry, and worshipped the true God only ; and his mother was a believing Jewess. Young Timothy had not only been favoured with a religious education, but had a good character for genuine piety, and promising ability for considerable usefulness, among the Christians.

* Crete, in ancient geography, is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean, lying between 22° and 27° lon. E. and between 35° and 36° lat. N. Strabo says, this island is 287 miles in length; Pliny, 270; and Scylax, 312. According to Pliny, its breadth is nowhere more than 55 miles; whence, as Stephanus observes, it was styled the *Long Island*; also, it was formerly called Hecatompolis, as having a hundred considerable towns or cities; and Macaris, the Happy Island, from the goodness of the soil, and fine temperature of the air. It has the Archipelago to the North, the African Sea to the South, the Carpathian to the East, and the Ionian to the West. Joined with the small kingdom of Cyrene, on the Lybian coast, it formed a Roman province. Constantine separated Crete from Cyrene, in the new division which he made of the provinces of the empire: and left Crete, with Africa and Illyria, to his third son, Constantius. In the reign of Michael II, emperor of Constantinople, the Saracens made themselves masters of it without opposition. Nicephorus Phocas, afterwards emperor, delivered this fine island from the yoke of the infidels, after having been 127 years in their hands. It remained under the Romans until the time when Baldwin, E. of Flanders, being raised to the throne, liberally rewarded the services of Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat, by making him king of Thessalonica, and adding the island of Crete to his kingdom. That lord being fonder of gold than dignity, sold it to the Venetians, A. D. under whom it assumed the modern name of *Candia*. After a war of 30 years continuance, from about 1645, in the course of which, more than 200,000 men fell, this island was entirely subdued by the Turks, in whose hands it still continues. In the reign of the emperor Leo, it had twelve bishops, all subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. The Mahometans have converted most of the Christian temples into mosques; yet they have left two churches to the Greeks, one to the Armenians, and a synagogue to the Jews.

ans of that country. It appears that it had been revealed to some by the spirit of prophecy, that he would be an Evangelist*. St. Paul, being persuaded of this, accordingly laid his hands upon him, who received the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit as a qualification for the work of the ministry†. He also prevailed with him to be a companion in his travels, and conversed familiarly upon the most important and interesting subjects relative to his high vocation; after which he was admitted a preacher of the everlasting Gospel. To ensure a more extensive range, and consequently greater usefulness among mankind, he determined to have him circumcised; though not with a design to enforce the observance of the ceremonial law, but only that thereby he might prevent any occasion of offence among the Jews, who would not otherwise have suffered him to preach in their synagogues: therefore this would be harmless. But he was unwilling for Titus to be circumcised, though a believer and an Evangelist, because both his father and mother were Gentiles. So this pre-eminent Apostle says,—*Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are without law, as without law, that I might gain them that are without law: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.*

As Philip and Peter had been, so Paul and Silas were also, directed by the Holy Ghost where to exercise their ministry; than which, nothing can be a greater argument of his sovereignty, nor a more evident proof of his Deity. *The Holy Ghost had made them overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood†,* and appointed their stations or the places where they should exercise their ministry, and discharge the trust they had received from him. Being forbidden by the Spirit, to preach the word in Asia proper, or Proconsular Asia, for the present, they directed their steps to Mysia§, a country

* 1 Tim. i. 18. † 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6. ‡ Acts xx. 28.

§ Some say Mysia had its name from the abundance of beech-trees growing in it, and was called by the Lydians, who were a neighbouring people, Misæ. The people thereof are noted by Tully, in his Oration to Flaccus, to be despisable and base to a proverb.

adjoining on the west to Galatia, and thence attempted to go into Bithynia: but He suffered them not, according to their own plan and secret inclination.

Passing by Mygia, they went down to Troas*, a seaport on the east side of the Ægean Sea, and near to which, as some think, stood Old Troy, so famous in ancient civil History. While here, St. Paul had an extraordinary call, by a vision, into Macedonia, a Grecian province in Europe:—there appeared a man in the Macedonian habit, and prayed him, saying, *Come over into Macedonia, and help us.* They that are without the Gospel, of all the persons in the world, want most help. It offers light to those in darkness, liberty to those in bondage, pardon to the guilty, purity to the unholy, consolation to the unhappy, and to saints everlasting glory, when the services, sufferings, and conflicts of this life are over. Hereupon the Apostle assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called him to preach to the people in that country, loosed from Troas, and, along with his company, went by a straight course to Samothracia: which is a small island lying on the west, near the Hellespont, now called Samandrachi, containing, it is said, more commodious harbours than other islands in the Ægean Sea. And the next day, they got to Neapolis, which was a city and harbour of Macedonia, seated on the river Nessus, having Abderra on the east, and Philippi on the west. Sailing from thence up the river Strymon, they arrived at Philippi†, which was a populous city in the first part of Macedonia, and a Roman colony. Here they abode certain days.

The Sabbath being come, they went out of this city, by a river side, to an oratory of the Jews, a place

* Troas was built by Lysimachus, one of Alexander the Great's captains, who peopled it from the neighbouring cities, and called it Alexander, or Troas Alexandri, in honour of his master Alexander; who began the work, but lived not to bring it to any perfection. In following times it was called simply Troas.

† Philippi was so called from Philip King of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great, who repaired and beautified it, and increased the number of its inhabitants. Near it lay the fields thence called Campi Philippici; famous for two great and memorable battles, the former between Julius Caesar and Pompey the Great, the latter between Augustus and Mark Antony on the one side, and Cassius and Brutus on the other, and by which Rome entirely lost her liberty.

where they assembled for prayer*; in which they sat down, and preached the Gospel to the women who resorted thither. Here St. Paul made his first convert in Europe; who was a woman, and she of some distinction. Her name was Lydia, (at least she was so called,) and a native of Thyatira, which was in the province of Lydia. She worshipped God, had been a proselyte to the Jewish religion, and therefore frequented this oratory for prayer. Though the Apostle was the instrument, yet God was the author of her conversion; and the manner in which it was accomplished is mentioned by the sacred historian: *Whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul*[†]. The Greek word, as a writer observes, properly refers to the opening of the eyes. Conversion is the opening of the heart; of the understanding by illumination, of the will by renovation; the former is naturally shut by ignorance, and the latter perverse, obstinate, and unruly; and not all the angels in heaven, nor ministers on earth, can throw light into the one, nor flexibility into the other; which is the prerogative and work of HIM who said, *Let there be light, and there was light*; and can make the crooked become straight. The Author of our faith says, *No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me, draw him*[‡]; it is he, and he only, who works first to will, and then to do[§]. Yet God worketh by means: for Lydia gave close attention to Paul's doctrine, and believed it; and her heart was opened to receive that Jesus, as her

* Probably there were not many Jews settled in Philippi, and those chiefly women, who could not afford to have a *synagogue*, and so had this *oratory* or *proseucha*. The Jews had three sorts of places for public worship, the Temple, Synagogues, and Oratories or houses of prayer. Their Oratories were more ancient than their synagogues. Many learned men are of opinion, that they had no synagogues, strictly speaking, till after the Babylonian captivity. It is indeed said, *They have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land*, Psa. lxxiv. 8; (*Col moadbe El*) all the places of religious assemblies, but by these many understand their oratories or proseuchas houses of prayer. The synagogues were in cities, and covered edifices like our churches or chapels; the oratories were without the cities, either by a river, or on the sea-side, and often upon a hill, or mountain, and were encompassed about with a wall, and open above, like little courts. In these they prayed, as in the courts of the temple, every one apart; whereas in the Synagogues prayer was offered to God in public forms, common for the whole congregation.

[†] Acts xvi. 14.

[‡] John vi. 44.

[§] Phil. ii. 13.

Saviour, whom he preached :—*faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.* She was baptized, and her household : the Syriac Version reads, *and when she was baptized and her children.* In all languages of the world, as well as often in the Scripture, the word *house* is most usually put for the *children* of the house, because these maintain and keep it up. After this ceremony was over, she besought Paul and his associates, if they judged her a sincere convert, to lodge in her house. Probably he hesitated and was reluctant, which might cause her to use earnest entreaty and passionate importunity. True religion would make this distinguished female happy in herself, useful to her family, and a blessing to her neighbours ; and she would rejoice to entertain these servants of God.

While they continued her guests, one day, as they were going to the oratory, they met a young woman, who had been for some time under the influence of Python*, which was one of the epithets of Apollo, whose oracle at Delphos, was most famous for giving responses when consulted, and from this was called Python or Pythius, from the Greek word to consult or ask : hence, those who gave answers when consulted, by the help of an evil spirit, as this damsel did, were called Pythonists or Pythoneesses. It appears, from the word being plural, that she had several masters, a society perhaps, who had agreed to maintain her, as an oracle, in that country. She was much consulted, for the discovering of secrets, or the foretelling of some things future ; and those who applied brought with them rewards, according to their rank and cases ; so that her masters received much gain, of which she had a very liberal share. Following after Paul and his companions, she cried out, saying with great earnestness of voice and gesture, *These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of*

* This Maid was possessed with a Devil, that spake out of her belly, and much swelled it when she gave answers to those who consulted her. The Greeks called such ἐγγασπιμούς, because they spake out of their bellies ; and the Hebrews OBOTH, because their bellies swelled like Bottles. See Potter's *Aniquities of Greece*, chap. 9.

salvation. And this she did many days. Whether the Devil in her was forced against his will to give this testimony to the Gospel, as he had done at another time to Christ's dignity and office, saying, *I know thee who thou art, Christ the Son of God;* or he did it voluntarily, but with the most mischievous views and designs,—either to perjuade people to believe him in other things, since in this he spake the truth, or to ingratiate the Pythones with these Ministers of Christ, that so she might have the more credit among the people,—I will not say: but Paul, being much troubled in mind, to hear the truth rendered suspected by the Father of lies, turned and said, I command thee, in the name and by the authority of Jesus Christ, at whose disposal thou art, to abandon thy possession of the damsel. And power from Christ, in whose name the Apostle acted, immediately went along with his command, to the expulsion of the Devil. Now was made good that promise, *In my name shall they cast out devils;* and how greatly is it for the comfort of God's people, to be assured that he hath all the powers of darkness under his command and at his disposal. It was a great mercy to the whole city and adjacent country, to be rid of a guest, that had so much imposed on their credulity, and otherwise abused them.

But the masters, when they saw that all further gain by this maid was gone, were greatly enraged, and became the first authors of the Apostles' troubles in this place. In their rage, they caught Paul and Silas, and dragged them away to the market-place, that they might accuse them to the magistrates, who held their court for the administration of justice, in the street or open place, near the gates of the city. The indictment they brought against them runs thus: *These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city, and teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans.* The Romans had an ancient law, which forbade the worship of new deities, without the permission of the senate; and, as appears from Livy, when violated, it was publicly vindicated by the authority of the state. The persecutors had said enough;

presently the mob rose up against them, ready to tear them to pieces ; and the magistrates, pulling off the garments from Paul and Silas, commanded the lictors or public beadles, to beat them with rods. Scourging or whipping, by the Jewish law, was limited to the number of forty stripes*, and to show their compassion, they gave but thirty-nine. *Of the Jews*, says St. Paul, *five times received I forty stripes, save one†.* But the Roman law did not limit the number, we may therefore suppose he and Silas now received many more than forty. He mentions, *in stripes above measure‡*, and also he refers to this in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, *Ye know how shamefully we were treated at Philippi§.* These were the scars and prints made on his body in his sufferings for Christ : *I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus||.*

And this was not all: they confined them, and charged the jailer to keep them safely ; who, having received such a charge, *thrust them into the inner prison*, which was the closest and strongest, *and made their feet fast in the stocks.* It is generally supposed, that these were large pieces of wood used among the Romans, which not only loaded the legs of the prisoners, but sometimes distended them in a very painful manner. So that the situation of the Apostles must have been very affecting, especially if they lay, as it is very possible they did, with their backs, so lately scourged, on the damp ground. Imprisonment is usually a sorrowful condition, and attended with heavy sighs and pitiful groans ; but these prisoners, conscious of their integrity, and enjoying a sense of Divine favour, in a close cell, fastened in the stocks, and surrounded with midnight darkness, *prayed*, no doubt for their persecutors as well as themselves, *and sang praises to God*, probably one or more of David's Psalms, suitable to their case¶. While engaged in these devotions, on a sudden there was a great earthquake, all the prison-doors were opened, and all

* Deut xxv. 3.

† 2 Cor. xi. 24.

‡ 2 Cor. xi. 23.

§ 1 Thess. ii. 2.

|| Gal. vi. 17.

¶ Luther used to say to Melancthon, who was a timid man, and easily discouraged at the dark prospect of things, *Come, let us sing the 46th Psalm, and let earth and hell do their worst.*

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the prisoner's bonds were loosed ; which things were considered by the Pagans as tokens of some divine appearance in favour of the oppressed and afflicted, who were suffering wrongfully. And these were evidently above the power of natural causes to effect. Philosophers tell us, that the reason of earthquakes is the strength of vapours pent up in the earth, which, seeking vent, cause it to shake : but this was by the immediate agency of the God of nature. The shock was so great, that the doors flew open, and yet he, whose power effected it, took care to prevent the house from falling upon the prisoners : and their fetters dropping off, plainly evinced a preternatural and miraculous interposition.

Amidst this scene of wonders, the jailer, supposing all the prisoners were fled, was thrown into great consternation and fear : for, by the Roman law, in that case, the keeper was to undergo the same punishment that was to have been inflicted on the criminal ; which put him upon the desperate resolution of killing himself, to avoid falling into the hands of the executioner. St. Paul, either by hearing some desperate words that declared it, or by an immediate suggestion from God, was informed of his purpose ; and, with a bravery and benevolence which only Christianity can give, felt solicitous to save the life of one, who, but a few hours before, had treated him with such rigour ; accordingly he cried with a loud voice, saying, *Do thyself no harm : for we are all here.* The power of God concurring with this exclamation, he, who in despair was for committing suicide, awoke to such a sense of his sinful condition, and concern for salvation, that, after throwing himself at the feet of these divine messengers, and taking them out of this confinement, most earnestly inquired of them, *what he should do to be saved ?* probably referring to the testimony of the Pythoness, which had been so often and so publicly repeated. And they said, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved and thy house.* This they explained more at large to him and his family, showing them the dignity of Christ's person, the

nature of his offices, his mediatory performances, the blessings purchased and ready to be conferred, and the nature and necessity of justifying faith. And after washing their stripes, he, and all his, were straightway baptized*, and, by that solemn rite, admitted members of the Christian Church. Thus the prison, which was designed to be a means of suppressing the Gospel, became subservient to its propagation†.

When it was day, the magistrates, who most probably were terrified by the earthquake, and made sensible they had gone beyond their commission, in what they had done to their new prisoners, sent the persons by whom they had been scourged on the preceding day, to the keeper of the prison, saying, *let those men go.* He communicated the message to the Apostles; but Paul (knowing they had violated the Valerian law, which forbade that a Roman citizen should be bound, and the Sempronian or Porcian, that he should be beaten with rods,) refused to comply, and insisted they should come themselves and fetch them out. He undoubtedly herein had a regard to the honour and interest of Christianity in this place, as well as to their own civil rights as men and Romans. On their hearing of this resolution, and that the prisoners were Romans, they delayed not, but went and comforted them, and in a respectful manner conducted them out of prison, humbly begging of them to leave the city. This token of public respect from the magistrates, would encourage the new converts, and remove a stumbling-block out of the way of others, who might not have discerned the real characters of these Apostolic men, amidst so much infamous abuse as they had before suffered. Being honourably acquitted, they went to Lydia's house, where it is likely Timothy and the others had been all the while.

* There is reason to believe that they were baptized by sprinkling, the place would not admit of dipping: and Paul himself had been baptized by sprinkling, as may be argued from the circumstance of the place where he was baptized. *Acts ix. 18.*

† Mr. Fox tells us, that Tindal was instrumental in the conversion of the Keeper, his Daughter, and several others, during his imprisonment.

St. Paul and his companions now went through Amphipolis*, and Apollonia, to Thessalonica†, the metropolis of that part of Macedonia, where was a Jewish synagogue, and some think the only one in that province, which might be the reason of their passing so hastily through the other two cities. Here, according to the Apostle's usual custom of offering the Gospel first to the Jews, he entered into their assembly, and for three succeeding sabbaths was permitted to address them; reasoning out of their own Scriptures, Moses and the Prophets, opening the prophecies concerning the necessity of the sufferings of the Messiah, for the sins of mankind, and his rising again from the dead; and plainly showed that these were accomplished in Jesus, whom, though men had persecuted, he was commanded and rejoiced to preach.

The success was various: some of the Jews, being convinced of the truth, embraced Christianity; and these *consorted* with Paul and Silas, as the word signifies, put themselves into their possession, were knit to them in the closest bonds, and so well affected that they were willing to share the same lot with them. And likewise a great number of Proselytes, both men and women, the latter persons of distinction and eminence, believed and embraced the Gospel. But, on the other hand, the unbelieving Jews, being transported with a blind and furious zeal‡, collected together some

* Amphipolis was so called, because encompassed by the river Strymon, the old boundary between Thrace and Macedonia. It was built by Cimon the Athenian, who sent 10,000 Athenians as a colony thither.

† This city stood upon the Thermaean Bay, and was anciently called *Therma*; but being rebuilt and enlarged by Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, upon his victory over the Thessalonians, it was, in memory of that, called Thessalonica, which signifies, *The victory of the Thessalia*. It was remarkable for its trade and commerce, being a maritime situation, in which many Jews had settled. It is now, by a corrupt pronunciation, called *Salonicci*, the capital of Macedonia in European Turkey, celebrated for the remains of magnificent antiquities and grand churches, the seat of the Turkish Baffa, and the see both of a Greek and Roman catholic archbishop, most of the inhabitants being still Christians. It has a good foreign trade, and lies 264 miles W. of Constantinople.

‡ Ζηλωατες, i. e. were transported with a blind and furious zeal. Zeal, according to the different nature of its objects, and the springs from whence it flows, is either a good or bad principle. It is several times in the scripture used in a bad sense, as they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge, (Rom.

idle, mean, and profligate fellows, who frequented the markets, and would do any thing, however bad, for a small reward, and by these raised a mob; by which means the city was soon in an uproar, and thrown into confusion; and, in this riotous manner assaulting the house of Jason, where Paul and his companions lodged, they sought for them, intending to bring them out to the inflamed mob, that they might stone them to death; but, being disappointed, they dragged out Jason, and some others of the brethren who were with him, to the rulers of the city, crying, *These that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also*:—that is, have caused great confusion and disturbance in every place through which they have passed, mixing as it were heaven and earth together; which is an accidental hint of the general progress of the Christian religion. Their accusation went further, *Whom Jason* received; and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying, That there is another king, one Jesus.* This was alledging, that they had a secret design upon the empire itself, which they covered under the specious pretence of religion; in short, that Jesus was to rival Cæsar; and that Jason, knowing it, had secretly received them into his house, that he might help forward their plot. This was false: for though Paul affirmed Christ to be a king, yet said he not that his kingdom is of this world; therefore he certainly was not Cæsar's rival.

x. 2); concerning zeal, persecuting the church, (Phil. iii. 6); and in many other places. And we have the words indignation, envy, emulation, and the like, all which, in the original, are *zeal*. A bad zeal is nothing but the excess of self-love; it is a noisy, impetuous thing, that drives on with wildness and fury, overturning and destroying whatever stands in its way; it is self on fire, and it sets the world on fire, as far as its influence will reach.

* Acts xvii. 7. Jason seems to have been a relation of St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 21; and it is not improbable, but he was an Hellenist Jew. Τυρδέδεκται, *clanculum accipit*, says Erasmus, he has received them closely, covertly, privily, and with design; and all these, Paul and Silas, Jason and the other Brethren, act contrary to the decrees of Cæsar. There was an express law against any man's taking upon him the title of King, or of being called King, within the dominion of the Roman empire, without the Emperor's permission and approbation; and the subordinate Imperial powers, were most jealous of Jews, because Judas of Galilee, Thudas, and other false Messiahs, had drawn the people into insurrections and rebellions. The unbelieving Jews took the advantage of this jealousy of the Emperor, to traduce both Christ, and his Ministers and People, in every city where they came, as enemies to Cæsar.

If he had, these Jews would have been well-pleased with his doctrine, notwithstanding all their pretences for the honour and interest of the Emperor; for they expected the Messiah would be a secular Prince, and rescue them from their subjection to him, who at that time was Claudius Cæsar. It is but too common for base and wicked people to charge their own crimes on the innocent. But these magistrates were men of sense and temper, and acted more agreeably to their characters, than those at Philippi; for having taken security of Jason, and the others whom the mob found in his house, for their appearing when called upon, they dismissed them.

The converts at Theffalonica, having hid and secured Paul and Silas, in some proper place, from the violence of the mob; on the return of Jason and his friends from their trial, immediately, even the same night, had them conveyed to Berea, now called Voria, a great and populous city of Macedonia, which lies south, towards Athens, and not far from Pella, the birth-place of Alexander the Great. The difficulties they met with, in preaching the Gospel, neither made them decline nor despond in it; for seeing a synagogue of the Jews, they entered it on the sabbath-day, and preached with good success. Although St. Paul had all the credentials that were necessary, to convince every unprejudiced mind that he was immediately commissioned from God, yet he demanded the belief of the people no further, than what he delivered appeared agreeable to the divine revelation contained in the Scriptures. As he appealed to them for the truth of what he advanced, so the Bereans, who were of an excellent spirit, free to investigate truth, and willing to receive it upon proper evidence, searched the scriptures of the Old Testament daily, that they might know whether his doctrine was consonant to what is therein said of the Messiah; and finding, on a careful examination, that it agreed with the standard of truth, they would no longer withhold their assent, but received it *with all readiness of mind*. Herein they far exceeded the Jews at Theffalonica; and showed an example

which all should follow, who are favoured with the Gospel. Those persons who are teachable, in the things relating to God, possess true generosity of soul; and the most diligent and accurate search into the truth, should always precede the adoption of religious principles. *To the law and to the testimony: prove all things: hold fast that which is good.* Comparing the sermons of ministers with the oracles of God, is building faith on rational grounds; and all who do thus, not only become settled in their own minds, but also are able to give to others a reason of the hope that is in them. As many of the Berean Jews, and Jewish Proselytes, who were Greeks or Gentiles by birth, became Christians, so, as may reasonably be supposed, they would, not only be rooted and grounded in Christianity, but able to defend this religion against its enemies.

The unbelieving, restless, wicked Jews at Thessalonica, hearing that Paul preached the Gospel at Berea, went thither, and raised a persecution against him, as they had before done at home. Their inveterate malignity led them to use falsehood and deceit, by which they *stirred** up the people to join them in their diabolical proceedings. Hereupon the intelligent and sincere converts protected and sent him away towards the sea: but Silas and Timothy abode there still, to encourage the new believers.

Those who had the care of St. Paul, conducted him to Athens[†]; and, before they left the city, he gave

* The word σαλευοντες, rendered *stirred up*, according to Blackwall, signifies primarily *raising a storm*; Phavorinus says, it is properly spoken of a ship, which, when riding at anchor, is *agitated* by the waves of the sea; and a violent agitation of the sea, admirably illustrates the rage and fury of a seditious multitude. See Blackwall's *Sacred Classics*, vol. 1. p. 230, and Parkhurst's *Greek Lexicon*.

† Athens was one of the most renowned cities of the world; and, when St. Paul visited it, had been a city for 1600 years. It was built by Cecrops, five years before Moses fled out of Egypt into the land of the Midianites, and from him called *Cecropia*: there succeeded him at least forty princes. In the reign of Erichthonius it acquired the name of Athens, from Αθηνα, the Greek name of the goddess Minerva, who was esteemed its protectress. In its most flourishing state, it was a day's journey, or something more than 22 Roman miles in circumference. Cicero describes it as the fountain whence all other nations derived learning, religion, arts, and laws. It stands on the gulf of the Ægean Sea, which washes the isthmus of the Peloponnes, or Morea; in that district of Greece, properly so called, which was named Attica, whence

them orders to tell his companions to follow him, with all convenient expedition, to assist in cultivating that extensive place, overgrown with noxious and luxuriant weeds. While waiting for their arrival, he made observations, and saw the Athenians were wholly given to idolatry, and their city full of temples, idols, and altars ; of which there were more, than in all Greece beside, and the citizens observed double the number of feasts and holy-days to any others. Whatever strange gods of Asia, Europe, and Africa, were recommended, they admitted, and allowed them altars ; so that Petronius humorously says, It is easier to find a god than a man there. In Paul's perambulations, among the rest, he discovered an altar with this inscription, To THE UNKNOWN GOD ; respecting the origin of which, Dr. Wellwood observes,---I know there are different opinions about this altar, and upon what occasion it came to be erected ; but it is very probable, and I have several ancient historians and divines for vouchers, that it was done by Socrates. It seems, instead of raising an *altar*, as was the custom, to any of the fictitious gods of Greece, he took this way, as the safest, to express his devotion to the one true God ; of whom the Athenians had no notion, and whose incomprehensible being, he intimated by this inscription, was far beyond the reach of their, or of his own understanding ; and it is very reasonable to think, that it was owing to the veneration they had for the memory of its founder, that it came to be preserved so many ages after, though they understood not the sense of the inscription*. The wiser sort of the Heathen Philosophers believed there was one God superior to all

the Attic dialect was esteemed as the purest Greek. It is now called *Serines*, or according to Dr. Chandler, *Athini*; and is in the possession of the Turks, who have there five mosques. Three-fourths of its inhabitants are Christians, who have many churches and oratories, and among whom, a metropolitan Greek bishop resides.

* See Wellwood's introduction to his translation of *The Banquet of Xenophon*. This altar *βαυμον* was an high one, or erected in a high place. There are accounts of its origin which differ from that of Dr. Wellwood. Some say the Athenians were so given to idolatry, that they adopted all the idol-gods, which they understood were worshipped any where ; and supposing there might be some of which they had never heard, they erected altars to these unknown

the rest, whom they called the father of gods and men ; and they no doubt learned from the Jews, that their God was invisible, his name sacred, and his nature unsearchable : and to him was this altar erected, and this inscription given.

Their abominable idolatry affected the Apostle so much, that *his spirit was stirred in him*, or, as the word signifies, it was as if a *sharp edge* had been set upon it. He was influenced with holy indignation, at seeing the glory due to God, given to idols ; with grief, that such a learned people should be so blinded and wretchedly imposed upon by the Devil ; and with zeal, to instruct, reform, and bring them into the way of truth. He lost no time, but at once entered upon this important work. According to his usual custom, he began with the Jews and Proselytes ; the former of whom, after their return from the Babylonian captivity, had a great aversion to idols ; and the latter, had renounced polytheism. In the synagogue he disputed with these, proving, by arguments from indisputable authority, that Jesus is the Christ. In the market, being a place of public resort, he preached daily to the idolatrous Gentiles, after the manner he had done to those at Lystra, that they should turn from these vanities to the only living and true God, the creator and governor of the world ; also that Christ is the Son of God, and the only Saviour of men ; and asserted and explained the nature and design of his death and resurrection.

deities. Others say, the occasion of this altar, was a dreadful pestilence which raged in Athens, and for the removal of it, they sacrificed to all their gods, but to no purpose. Hereupon they were advised by Epimenes, a devout man among them, to erect an altar to that God who had power over the plague, and offer sacrifices to him, which they did, and because they knew not how to call him, they inscribed it to *the unknown God.* (See Laertius's Life of Epimenes.) If this was the cause of it, it was erected above 430 years before Christ, for about that time the pestilence raged in Athens, and so reduced the inhabitants, that, for increasing its population, a law was made that every man should have two wives. Much is said of this plague by Thucydides, who recovered from it, and by Hippocrates, that great master in the art of physic. We have the express testimony of Lucian that there was an altar with such an inscription, and that the neighbouring nations used to swear by that unknown God who had his altar at Athens.

Some of the philosophers, of the sects of the Epicureans and Stoics, (the former of which held the doctrine of materialism, and the latter of irresistible fate,) encountered him. Part said, *What will this babbler* say?* others, he seemeth to be a *setter-forth of strange gods.* These concluded that *Jesus* and *anastasis*, the word he uses for the resurrection, were two new deities, the former a god, and the latter a goddess.

The Athenians, being great newsmongers, and spending much of their time in hearing and telling new things, (for which Demosthenes much blamed them) were prompted by curiosity to ask the Apostle the meaning of his doctrine, and, for the purpose of hearing it, led him to Areopagus or Mars-Hill, where the temple of Mars, the supposed god of war, stood, and which was the highest court in Athens. Before the Areopagites, the philosophers and judges, who were the most learned Heathens in the world, he stood up and preached. In the beginning of his discourse, he charged them with being in all things *too superstitious*; by which he meant their worshipping more deities than their neighbours: so Beza renders the word, *religiores* more religious. If he had said, they were too idolatrous, most probably the fate of Socrates would have been his also. And as there was at Athens a law which made it a capital crime to introduce any new gods in the state, and as he was before the ordinary judges of criminal matters, who in a particular manner were entrusted with the care of religion; so he availed himself of the *altar* which he had

* The original word σπερμολόγος signifies a gatherer of seeds. The Athenians, according to Eustathias, applied this name to those who spent their time in the market places, and got their living by collecting the refuse they met with there. Because the σπερμολόγοι were a noisy, talkative sort of men, hence the word is particularly applied to *babbling, chattering fellows.* (See Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon.) As the word is used for a *little bird*, that hops from place to place, in the fields or market places in cities, and picks up here a grain and there another; so, to such they compared St. Paul, supposing that he went from place to place, and here picked up one tale, and there another, that he might furnish himself with matter of ratiocination. They looked upon him as an idle, worthless, contemptible fellow. The Heathen, some tell us, called all those babblers, who asserted the resurrection of the dead.

found in the city, inscribed *To the unknown God*, and only explained to them one, whom their government had already received: *Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you.* Having providentially this inscription for a text, he not only avoided the law, but also had a fine opportunity of vindicating the whole system of both natural and revealed religion.

He told them, that the true God is the creator, proprietor, and governor of the universe; needs no edifices erected by men to dwell in, for his immense presence cannot be limited to a material temple. He put them in mind, that Aratus, a native of Cilicia, one of their own poets, who lived almost three hundred years before that time, had taught them this doctrine, in the beginning of a book he wrote on the course of the heavens, where he has these words, *For we are also his offspring**. From this concession, he inferred the unreasonableness and absurdity of their worshipping images and statues, which cannot give any suitable representation of an omnipresent and infinite Spirit, but must tend rather to suggest the most dishonourable thoughts of him.

Having showed them the absurdity of idolatry, he proceeded to say, *the times of ignorance indeed God overlooked*, as a writer paraphrases it, *the beams of his eye did in a manner shoot over it*; he did not appear to take notice of them, by sending express messages, as he did to the Jews. But now, this day, this hour, said he, puts an end to the divine forbearance, and brings either greater mercy or punishment. Now *God commandeth all men every where to repent*: there is a dignity and grandeur in this expression, becoming an ambassador from the King of Heaven. And this universal demand of repentance, declared as exten-

* These words are also found in the hymn of Cleanthes to Jupiter, which is one of the purest and finest pieces of natural religion of its length in the whole world of pagan antiquity. (*For an English version of which, see the Christian's Magazine, vol. 2. p. 91.*) As these words are found in two different poets, this possibly may be the reason why St. Paul speaks in the plural number, *certain of your own poets have said*: however, Homer, Hesiod, and many other Greek poets have said nearly the same thing, calling Jove, *the father of man and of gods*.

five guilt in the strongest manner, and admirably confronted the pride of the haughtiest Stoic among them ; while it bore down the irrational and contemptuous plea of fatality : for how could any one repent of doing, what he could not but have done ? He enforced his doctrine by the most powerful arguments, drawn from the day of future retribution ; whereof God hath given assurance to all men, in that he hath raised Christ from the dead, to be the glorious judge of all. With what admirable skill did he adapt his discourse to his auditors, in their supreme court of justice ! But when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, which they thought incredible, some, from the pride of reason, opposed this article of faith by *mocking* ; while others, who had probably more sense and better manners, said, *We will hear thee again of this matter*. So he departed, without finishing all he intended to have said, leaving his learned auditory divided in their judgments. However, some believed the Gospel, and clave to him, among whom was Dionysius the Areopagite, one of the judges of the court, and a woman of distinction, named Damaris.

In Athens St. Paul made but few converts. This was a city most famous for learning, and could boast its Solon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and many other excellent philosophers ; but those now addressed, were too easy, indolent, and wise in their own conceit, to receive the Gospel. Greece was called *the eye of the world*, and Athens *the eye of Greece* ; having been for many years the university of the world, the rendezvous of scholars, and much resorted to from all parts. How true are those words of Christ, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.* The great scholar, and the serious Christian, rarely meet in the same person. Seldom doth the wisdom of God, and the wisdom of the learned agree. When they are told of heavenly things, which are beyond the discovery of the light of nature, they ask, *How can these*

things be? If they are spoken to on subjects which lie within the precincts of reason, they say, We knew these things before. Matters of divine revelation, are to their learned wisdom, either impossible, irrational, unnatural, or weak and foolish; hence the pride of understanding is one cause of their ruin.

The Apostle did not stay long at Athens, but went to Corinth*, 54 miles westward, where he met with more encouragement, and continued about two years. This was the metropolis of Achaia Propria, which was a part of Greece: it also made very great professions of learning and wisdom, and was almost equally celebrated for philosophers and orators. Being situated in the middle of the isthmus, it was a famous mart, commanding the trade of both Asia and Europe; Cenchrea was its port for the east or Ægean Sea, as Iochæum or Lechæum for the west or Adriatic Sea; which caused a great influx of people, and the citizens were rich and luxurious, even to a proverb. They were idolaters, and had, within their city, the Temple of Iris, and, without, upon the mountain Acrocorinthus, the Temple of Venus, to whose goddesses, as Strabo says, were consecrated a thousand harlots every year, and consequently very great impurities were practised.

In Corinth St. Paul found a Jew by nation, but by religion a Christian, named Aquila, of Pontus in Asia, but lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla. The reason of their leaving Italy, was the edict of the emperor Claudio, who commanded all Jews to depart from Rome. Suetonius says, this edict was published in the ninth year of his reign, and,

* As the genius of the Corinthians led them to commerce rather than martial exploits, their city became the finest in all Greece. It was adorned with the most sumptuous buildings, as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, &c. all enriched with a beautiful kind of columns, which from the city were called *Corinthian*. In the year A. A. C. 146, Lucius Mummius, the Roman consul, pillaged and burnt it to the ground. And thus it continued, till Julius Cæsar, travelling into those parts, and viewing the ruins of the city, and observing its excellent situation for trade, caused it to be rebuilt and sent a colony thither; after which, it became great, and but little inferior to the former. It is now called *Coranthe* and *Cerame*, and is in the possession of the Turks: but the inhabitants are mostly Christians of the Greek church, who are allowed liberty of conscience.

the cause of it was the warm disputes that took place there, between the unbelieving Jews, and those of them who were converted to Christianity, concerning Christ. These two persons had already begun to occupy a house in this city, and follow their usual business, which was making *tents* of linen or skins; such as were used in those hot countries in the summer season, by soldiers, when encamped in the field; by shepherds, while tending their flocks; and by travellers on their journeys, when they had no houses wherein to lodge. According to Josephus, this was not only a lucrative, but an honourable employment. As St. Paul in his younger days had been initiated in this trade, so now, being in want of pecuniary assistance, he went to reside at the habitation of Aquila and Priscilla, and wrought with them.

Some may think it strange, that he, who had been educated at the universities of Tarsus and Jerusalem, should be a maker of tents: but the most wealthy and learned among the Jews, in their juvenile days, were taught some manual occupation. Lightfoot and others tell us, that a father was to do for his son these five things, viz. to circumcise him, redeem him, instruct him in the law, teach him a trade, and take him a wife. And Rabbi Judah says, the father that teacheth not his son a trade, does in effect make him a thief. Yet it is proper to consider, that St. Paul, being aware of the ill use that might be made of his example, takes great care throughout his writings to assert the liberty and privilege of the Gospel-ministry, freeing it from the necessity of manual labour. He declares, particularly in the ninth chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, that he had power to forbear working, and to demand a suitable maintenance from the church. Under the law, abundant provision was made for the Priests; and both the Heathen and Mahometans are liberal to their clergy. *Let him*, says the Apostle, *that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things.* The meaning of which is, that Christians should allow their Ministers a comfortable subsistence, and contri-

bute towards it freely and cheerfully. They are not to entangle themselves with the affairs of this life, and therefore require support. This is a duty which they, generally speaking, love as little to insist upon as any; and it is much better when the liberality of their hearers renders it unnecessary; who should never forget that it is God's express appointment. When the people withheld the dues of the Levites, he brought this charge against them, that *they had robbed him*. St. Paul gives us his reasons why he *laboured, working with his own hands*:---he frequently did this, that his generous zeal and disinterested benevolence might clearly appear, and that none might charge him with covetous and worldly views*; that he might cut off all occasion from the false apostles to claim support by this example†; and that indolent Christians might not pretend, by his conduct, to justify their idleness‡.

While thus employed, his care and vigilance relaxed not in the work of the ministry; for, there being many Jews settled in the city, who had a synagogue, he went into it every sabbath-day, and preached the Christian doctrine, labouring to convince both them, and the Greek Proselytes, that Jesus was the Messiah and appointed Saviour of men, and thus prevail with them to embrace him.

While St. Paul was at Athens, he sent Timothy to the Thessalonians, to see how they prospered, and to confirm them in the faith, who returned before he left the city; and bringing him the comfortable tidings of their perseverance and growth in grace, he sent both him and Silas into Macedonia, further to confirm the Churches, and ordered them to meet him at Corinth, to which place he was then going. Now after he had been some time at that city, they came to him; who hearing their united testimony, concerning the great proficiency and growth of the Churches in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berea, *he was pressed in spirit the more, and constrained § to testify to the Jews, that Jesus was*

* See Acts xx. 33—85. 1 Cor. ix. 12, 15. 2 Cor. xi. 7—11. and xii. 13—18.

† 2 Cor. xi. 12, 13, compared with Tit. i. 11.

‡ 2 Thess. iii. 7—12.

§ *He was pressed in spirit, suweiχero he was constrained, so the word is translated, 2 Cor. v. 14.* Doddridge renders it, *was borne away by an un-*

Christ. i. e. He had a fresh breathing of the Spirit of God upon his spirit; *intus æstuabat*, says Beza, *he burnt within*, was inflamed with zeal, to prove this grand and important truth, that Christ was the Messiah; and this was the uniform scope of all his discourses, disquisitions, and reasonings, in the Jewish synagogues.

As at other places, so here also, the Jews in general rejected the Gospel. It is said, *they opposed themselves* to the Apostle and his doctrine; the original word is a military term, and signifies *they set themselves as it were in battle array, or in order*, to give him battle: it imports the vehemency of their opposition, and their unanimity in the same. They also *blasphemed*; speaking reproachfully of Christ; and reviled the Apostle, for preaching him as their Messiah. Hereupon he shook his upper garment, in token of his detestation of their conduct, and to show that none of their guilt should cleave to him; and said, *Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles.* He seems to allude to the Sacrificer's laying his hand, and by that ceremony signifying the transmitting of his guilt, upon the head of the beast to be sacrificed: as if he had said,—Let the blame of your destruction be on yourselves; I am free from the guilt of your blood, having fully discharged my trust among you, in proving that Jesus is the Christ, offering him and his benefits, and warning you of the hazard of refusing him; hence I leave you, under the weight of your own guilt, and go to the idolatrous Gentiles; that to them may be preached the Saviour whom you have rejected.

And departing thence, he entered into the house of a devout Gentile, converted to Christianity, and, because he resided near the synagogue, preferred this situation that he might give any of the Jews or Greeks, who were so disposed, an opportunity of attending

usual impulse in his spirit. Heinlius and some others think, that the phrase *συνειχέτο το πνεύματι* means, *he was borne away by an extraordinary impulse of the Spirit of God, the agency of which in this matter, says Doddridge, I readily acknowledge, but apprehend the phrase here used rather refers to the effect that agency produced.* Family Explicitor, *in loc.*

upon him: His labours had not been in vain; for *Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue believed in the Lord, with all his house.* The Rulers were persons who presided in the worship, exercised discipline, and superintended the affairs of the synagogue; in each of which, some say there were seven. This man was a Jew of some eminence; and he and his family made an open profession of their faith, by receiving Christian baptism. And many of the Corinthians, hearing the Gospel in the house of Justus, believed, and were baptized. Among the converts at Corinth, was Epenetus, who probably was the first in the household of Stephanus, whose family was the Apostle's first-fruits of Achaia; and it appears they were possessed of wealth, for they devoted themselves to the service of the saints; and were all baptized by St. Paul himself, as also afterwards were Crispus and Caius, but no others of the Corinthians: it is not an improbable supposition, that Silas chiefly had that work assigned to him.

The great Apostle of the Gentiles, by teaching in the house of Justus so near to the synagogue, and receiving those who believed into full communion with the Jewish Christians, exasperated the unbelieving Jews, which seems to have discouraged him; and he entertained thoughts of leaving the city. But to prevent his departure, and embolden him in his work, the Lord spake to him by night in a vision, and said, *Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace: for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee, to hurt thee: for I have much people in this city.* This charge is enforced by three very powerful inducements, namely, the assurance of the presence of God, of the safety of his person, and of the success of his ministry. On these encouragements, he continued * a year and six

* *Ἐκάθισεν ἦ κατέβη,* importing that he applied himself to the work of the ministry among the Corinthians with composure of mind, and in confidence of the divine protection and promised success. During this time, says Doddridge, he wrote his *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*, (1 Thess. iii. 1—6. compared with Acts xviii. 5.) which seems to have been the earliest of those which occur in the *New Testament*, and quickly after it his *Second*.—Lord Barrington also thinks, that from hence he wrote his *Epistle to the Galatians*, which seems probable, as he refers there to his having been but lately among them,

months, preaching the Gospel with boldness and faithfulness. And by the divine blessing on his labours, a flourishing Church was raised, the members of which were enriched with all knowledge and utterance, and deficient in no spiritual gifts, for the variety of which they were highly distinguished.

But so great success of the Gospel could not fail of exciting the hatred and opposition of its enemies; and accordingly the malicious Jews rose in a tumultuous manner, apprehended the Apostle, and haled him before the tribunal of Gallio, preferring as a charge against him,—*This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law.* This Gallio, as Tacitus, and, from him, Calvinius reports, was brother to Seneca the moralist, Nero's tutor. Seneca, by whose interest most probably he had been made proconsul of Achaia, describes him as mild and excellent in his disposition, composed in himself, and benign and gentle to men in general; of which his treatment of St. Paul is a strong proof. For when he was about entering on his own defence, he saved him the trouble, because he did not look upon him as a criminal, by saying, *If it were a matter of wrong, or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: but if it be a question of words, and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters.* After hearing this decision, they probably used many intreaties to prevail with him to interfere in the business; however, *he drove them from the judgment-seat.* When all the Greeks who were present, perceived how little the Jews were regarded, they took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, who had taken a very active part among his restless brethren, and, because he and they did not quietly depart from the court when ordered so to do, beat him violently: and, though this was an irregular proceeding, and done almost in the presence of Gallio, he connived thereat, that the trou-

(Gal. i. 6 : iii. 1, 3 ; iv. 15.) and yet hints nothing of his having been there *more than once;* so that it seems to refer to the journey mentioned Acts xvi. 6. (*Mishell. Sacr. Abstract*, p. 81.) and have been *before that mentioned,* Acts xviii. 23. *Family Expositor*, in loc.

blesome plaintiff might feel the consequences which his own blind zeal and malignity of heart had occasioned. The Apostle, thus screened, tarried a few months longer; so that he was at Corinth about two years. Considering his unwearied diligence, and that he did not stay long in any place, unless he had a prospect of great success, we may reasonably suppose that there he gathered a large Church, the members of which consisted chiefly of converts from among the idolatrous Gentiles.

Silas and Timothy seem still to have continued at Corinth; but St. Paul, taking leave of the Christian brethren there, sailed thence into Syria, and with him Aquila and Priscilla; having shorn his head in Cenchrea, the port on the eastern part of the isthmus, before he entered the ship: for he had a vow, but on what particular occasion we are not told. He went to Ephesus, and left his two friends there; and after staying one Sabbath*, (which he employed in the synagogue reasoning with the Jews, concerning the Christian doctrine, and, at their earnest request for him to abide longer, had promised them to return,) he sailed from that port, and landed at Cæsarea in Palestine. Thence he went up to Jerusalem; and when he had saluted the Church there, he went to Antioch in Syria, whence he and Silas had set out: which concludes his Macedonian journey.

We now enter on St. Paul's Ephesian journey, so called because he stayed a considerable while in that populous city. After he had spent some time at Antioch, he departed, taking Silas with him, and went through Galatia and Phrygia, from Church to Church, in that order in which he had founded them; *strengthening all the Disciples, and exhorting them to ad-*

* This was the seventh-day sabbath, which the Jews observed. St. Paul did not go into the Jewish synagogues on this day, because he thought the sabbath was not ceased; but with a design to propagate the Christian religion among the Jews, which could not with equal convenience be done on other days. Several Ecclesiastical Writers tell us, that, for a long while, some Christians observed both the seventh day and the first day of the week, but did not pay the same regard to the former as the latter, nor style it God's Holy Day, nor the Christian Sabbath.

here steadfastly to their Christian profession. As this extensive range and particular attention to the different Churches would require much time, most commentators allow *four years* for this journey, including his long residence at Ephesus; that is, from the year 54 to 58. Coming to Galatia, he gave directions concerning *charitable contributions* for poor and afflicted Christians. He directed those who had ability to assist the needy, as to the time, manner, and measure of this charity. *Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him.* They were to do it on the Lord's Day, when assembled, for public worship: every member was to *treasure up*, (so the original reads,) out of his income, whether by estate, labour, or traffic, in proportion as God had prospered him. It is the duty of ministers to recommend objects of charity to their people, and solicit assistance; who should readily contribute towards the encouragement and support of these, especially when suffering for righteousness sake. Both pastors and people should be actuated by a catholic charity; and as their love ought to extend to all, so their liberality also should be as extensive as their ability. He that has little, should gladly give of that little; and if God increase his substance, let his alms be proportionable thereto*.

While St. Paul was thus passing through Galatia and Phrygia, a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria in Egypt, went to Ephesus. His accomplishments are specified, and appear to have been very considerable. He was a master of language, had a great command of words, and in his address, spake fluently and pertinently: he was *mighty in the Scriptures* of the Old Testament, understood their meaning, could readily make use of them on all occasions, and had a singular faculty in explaining and applying them suitably. Added to these extraordinary qualifications, he was catechised or initiated in the doctrine of Christ; and being full of zeal, he preach-

* See Gouge's *Sureft and Safeft Way of Thriving*, with recommendatory Prefaces by Owen, Manton, Bates, and Baxter.

ed as one in earnest, whose heart was in his work, and taught the things concerning Christ, according to his knowledge of them, for as yet it was very imperfect, *knowing only the baptism of John*. He entered into the synagogue, and delivered the truths he knew with great freedom: whom when Aquila and Priscilla had heard, they soon perceived, that although he was a person of good parts and excellent gifts, yet he wanted a more perfect knowledge of Christianity; which they themselves had happily attained in Corinth, from the private conversation, and public ministry of St. Paul. Therefore they took Apollos with them to their house, and there explained to him the way of God in a more complete and perfect manner; and he was willing to learn of them, though mechanics. Persons of literary attainments, who are truly humble, and sensible of their ignorance in divine things, will be content to learn of the meanest Christians, who can instruct them: the knowledge of Christ is valuable, from whatever instrument it come.

And when he was disposed to pass into Achaia, the Brethren at Ephesus, particularly Aquila and Priscilla, wrote to the Christians in Corinth, and other parts in that province, to receive him as an useful minister of Christ. Having arrived, he much edified the converts in Corinth; and so was instrumental in watering, what St. Paul had been in planting: *also mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, that Jesus was Christ*. From the peculiar gift received, he was more able to do this than convert the Heathen. Every minister should use his proper talent, in the exercise of which success may be expected; and not from vanity of mind, or pride of heart, aspire after what belongs not to him. And the people ought well to consider, that *there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will*: and not extol one minister, to the disparagement of another. It appears in St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, that several of the Christians amongst them, charmed with the eloquence of Apollos, were ready to exalt him as the head of a party, and to make invi-

dious and foolish comparissons between this Evangelist and the Apostle, who had been their father in Christ ; and who, though he might have less volubility of speech, was, on the most important occasions, far superior to this eloquent and zealous teacher. Yet their blind partiality occasioned no breach between these two eminent servants of God : and to avoid even the remotest appearance of countenancing any party, which might have been formed in his own favour, left Corinth ; and, when solicited to return, refused. Happy would it have been for the Christians there, had they known no name but that of Christ, in their ministers !—This account of Apollos is a digression from the History of St. Paul's travels and labours, but not unnecessary, since it tends to illustrate several passages in the Epistles, which he afterwards wrote to that Church. How remarkable is the providence of God, in leaving both Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, by whom Apollos was more perfectly instructed in the way of the Lord ; and afterwards in sending him to Corinth, to carry on the good work which the Apostle had there begun.

St. Paul, having made his long tour, and passed through the upper coasts, which are supposed to have been Pontus and Bythinia, arrived at Ephesus*, agree-

* Ephesus was an ancient city of Ionia, situated on the river *Cayster*, about five miles from the sea, and 45 south-east of Smyrna, which rendered it the principal mart even of all the Proconsular Asia. It is seated on the side of a hill, having on the west, a prospect of a lovely plain, watered and beautified with the pleasant circles of the river, turning and winding in so many curious mazes, that some travellers have mistaken it for the *Meander*; and the name *Mendres*, which the Turks have given it, has contributed to lead them into that error. This city, where once Christianity so flourished, was adorned with a magnificent church, honoured with the name of St. John. He was the youngest of all the Apostles, and lived 70 years after Christ's death, consequently a considerable time after the destruction of Jerusalem, and died in the 98th year of his age. Being accused to Domitian the Emperor, he commanded the Proconsul of Asia to send him prisoner to Rome, where Tertullian says, he was cast into a caldron of boiling oil, but miraculously preserved from harm. Hereupon that Emperor banished him to the island of Patmos, in the Archipelago, where he wrote the Revelation. Domitian dying, Nerva, who succeeded in the Empire, set at liberty those whom his predecessor had banished. On this, St. John returned to Ephesus, where he resided a considerable time; and wrote his Gospel, and probably his Epistles also, and governed the Churches of Asia. Ephesus is now called by the Turks *Ajatalouc*, and still exhibits many relics of ancient grandeur; but the inhabitants are only a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependence, and insensibility.

ably to his former promise, with a design of continuing there some time: this was, according to some chronological accounts, in less than a year after his departure from Corinth, and twenty-five after the ascension. He fixed his station there, and remained in or about the city for the space of three years; and was successful in raising a very flourishing Church. At his entrance, he found twelve Disciples, who were acquainted only with John's baptism, whom he further instructed in the nature and privileges of the Gospel; and, by the imposition of hands and prayer, was instrumental of their receiving the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. Some think these were afterwards called by the Apostle, elders, presbyters, or bishops. He went into the synagogue and spake boldly for three months, (which was, as far as we know, longer than he had preached in any other,) discoursing on the things concerning the Messiah's kingdom, and rectifying their mistaken notions thereof. But, at last, several of them being hardened, and refusing to believe, openly and publicly before the multitude *spoke evil of that way* to everlasting life. Hereupon, separating the Disciples he had made, from their society and communion, he departed, and chose the school of one *Tyrannus*, who probably was a converted Jew, and some think a teacher of philosophy,--others of intricate and difficult doctrines in divinity. There he kept his assembly for two years; and the learned say, according to different readings in two ancient MSS. he *taught five hours a day*, viz. from eleven in the morning, to four in the afternoon. As this city was much resorted to, both by Jews and Gentiles from all parts of proconsular Asia, and the school admitted of Idolaters as well as worshippers of the true God, very many *heard the word of the Lord Jesus*: this probably is what is meant where he says, *a great door and effectual is opened unto me.*--*And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases parted from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.* These were divine seals set to the Christian doctrine, incontestible proofs of its heavenly ori-

gin, and as so many arguments of his authority to preach the same. This was also an extraordinary exertion of the power of Christ, that the people might hereby learn how to estimate the Gospel, and know, although he is personally in heaven, his presence is on earth, and can, not only free men from the dominion of Satan, but heal all the moral distempers of the soul.

Several vagabond Jews, who pretended to a power of casting out demons, particularly by some arts and charms derived from Solomon, attempted to imitate the Apostle; but this ended in their disgrace and confusion, and became the public talk of the city. Others of a like sort, being moved by fear, of what had happened, went to him, confessing the character they had assumed, and the wicked deeds they had committed; while some of them brought their books, which contained *Epheſian Letters*, or the mysteries and institutions of that pretended art; such as the methods of incantation, the words to be used, and the proper seasons when, and places where they might be exercised; and burned them publicly in the face of the whole city. The value whereof being computed, was found to be *fifty thousand pieces of silver*: if these were the Jewish shekels, one, according to Dr. Arbuthnot, is equal to *two shillings, three pence, and three-eighths of a penny* of our money, hence the sum would amount to 5703l. 2s. 6d. but if the *Attic drachm*, which Dr. Prideaux reckons at 9d. only to 1875l. Since authors are not agreed whether these *pieces* were of Roman or Grecian coin, we cannot give the aggregate with certainty. From the effects of St. Paul's preaching, as well as the uncommon miracles wrought by him for the confirmation of his doctrine, the sacred Historian remarks, *So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed!*

Lord Barrington supposes, that after the Apostle had been some time at Epheſus, he visited the neighbouring towns of Asia, thence returned to the city again; and it seems not improbable that the foundation of some others of the seven Churches in Asia, so

particularly favoured by the Epistles of Jesus Christ, might then be laid. About the time of this remarkable success of the Gospel at Ephesus, Philemon and Epa-phras were converted, the latter afterwards a minister of the Church at Colosse. Several Christians from different parts in the neighbourhood, visited St. Paul while there; and it is a received opinion that he wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians from hence at the same time. After continuing two years and three months in and about this city, he purposed to depart and go through Macedonia and Achaia, to visit the Churches he had planted in those countries, thence to Jerusalem, after that to Rome, and lastly to Spain. No Cæsar, no Alexander the Great, nor other Hero, fays a writer, comes up to the magnanimity of this little Benjamite. Faith and love to God and man had enlarged his heart, even as the sand of the sea. So he sent Timothy, and Erastus, (this is the first time we have heard of the latter,) into Macedonia, to acquaint the Churches there of his coming, and perhaps with orders to desire them to provide some contributions for the saints in Judea. But contrary to his first intention, he continued nine months longer, which made the whole *three years*.

Towards the latter end of which time, one Demetrius, who made silver shrines for Diana, and perhaps had already suffered loss, called together a large company of men who were of the same trade, to whom he expressed his alarm at the great progress of the Gospel, and fear lest the craft should fail, by the goddess sinking into disrepute. This representation, both of their trade and religion being in danger, answered every purpose he intended, for immediately they were full of wrath*, fury, and indignation, and cried out, saying, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians**; to shew their

* The Greek word θυμοῦ signifies a hot and fiery anger.

† As Diana was known by a variety of titles and characters, as the goddess of hunting, travelling, child-birth, enchantments, &c. as Luna, Hecate, Lucina, Proserpine, &c. she had undoubtedly, in one or other of these views, a vast number of votaries. Her temple was 220 years in building, 425 feet long, 220 broad, supported by 127 marble pillars, each of them 60 feet high, and the work of a King; this was reared at the common charge of Asia Propria, and

abhorrence of St. Paul's doctrine, and that they were resolved to support her honour and majesty. Presently the city was in an uproar and filled with confusion: and having caught Gaius, who was born in Derbe, but had lived in Macedonia, and Aristarchus of Theffalonia in the same province, companions of Paul, as it was probably the time of celebrating the games in honour of Diana, they rushed with them into the theatre, that there they might abuse, or, as some say, affright them with wild beasts. The courage and generosity of the Apostle prompted him to enter also, either to make an apology for them, or to expose his own life, rather than suffer his friends to be sacrificed on his account: but the Disciples permitted him not. And certain of the Afiarchs or Primates of Afia, who were either persons sent from the smaller cities, as procurators in public business, similar to our solicitors; or officers presiding over the theatre, many of whom were priests, because most of the plays were acted in honour of the gods; sent him a message, which is a proof of their candour, desiring him not to venture in. The crowd was in great confusion, some crying one thing, some another, and the greater part knew not who had begun the tumult, nor for what purpose: yet the silversmiths were not unacquainted therewith. The Jews seeing Alexander, who also was a Jew, and, some think, the coppersmith, (a violent judaizing Christian, consequently one of the greatest enemies of St. Paul, and most in favour with them of any who professed Christianity,) prevailed with him to make an apology for them; and he endeavoured to turn the rage of the multitude against Paul and the other Christians. Apostates are usually the bitterest persecutors *; but when

was accounted one of the seven wonders of the world. It was burned down on the day in which Socrates was poisoned; then again, on the night when Alexander the Great was born, by Erostratus, purely that he might be remembered in after ages; and destroyed the last time in the reign of Constantine, pursuant to the edict of that emperor, commanding all the Heathen temples to be demolished.

* Apostates are the bitterest enemies to those from whom they go out.—Alexander first put away a good conscience, and then made shipwreck of faith. If the conscience be defiled by sin, the mind will soon be corrupted with error; the mystery of faith must be held in a good conscience. For his apostacy, St

the idolatrous Pagans knew that he was a Jew, consequently an enemy to their worship as well as the Christians, they would not suffer him to speak, and to prevent his being heard, should he attempt, with one voice, for about the space of two hours, they cried out, as before, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians!* But though he was hereby prevented in public, he afterwards did the Apostle and the Christian interest considerable harm by his private treachery. However at last the town-clerk, whom some Expositors think was the person appointed to keep a register of the public games, of the names of the victors, and of the prizes won, appeased the people, and prevailed with them to be silent. Then in a speech, from which he appears to have been a person of considerable prudence and ability, he intimated in a few words, that there certainly was no need of a public declaration of their being votaries of *Diana*, since this was known to all; that the persons accused were not guilty of any breach of the law, nor any public offence,—had offered no violence to the Temple of the Goddess, nor so much as set a foot therein; that if they were, this was not a legal method of proceeding, as court days were held, and deputies appointed, for that purpose; and that they themselves were in danger of being complained of as a factious seditious people. They were under the Roman Emperor, and making a general tumult, unless in case of fire, inundations, or the sudden invasion of an enemy, exposed them to the loss of their charter. And he put them in mind, that the time aggravated their danger, this happening upon the ac-

Paul excommunicated him, by which he was so exasperated, that he *did him much evil.*

Thus grace abuses brings forth the foulest deeds,
As richest soil the most luxuriant weeds.

Cowper.

He also delivered him unto Satan, that he might learn not to blaspheme, i. e. for the devil to torment and terrify him, that he might learn not to revile Christ and his Gospel, but be brought to repentance, and saved in the day of the Lord. 1 Tim. i. 19, 20. 2 Tim. iv. 14. The severest censures in the Primitive Church, were primarily designed for the salvation, and not the destruction of the offenders: — that was happily the case with the incestuous person, of whom we read,

91. v. 5.

cession of the new emperor Nero: and having thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly.

By this means, delivered from the danger which threatened him, St. Paul called together the Disciples, and took his leave of them in an affectionate manner; and, as Timothy had returned, left him to superintend the Church there; while he, according to his former purpose, departed, and went into Macedonia. When he had visited the Churches at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, &c. exhorting and comforting them*, he went into Greece, or that eminent part thereof, called Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital, and there continued three months. It is thought, during this time, that he wrote his celebrated Epistle to the Romans; for it plainly appears, that was written before his imprisonment at Rome, for in this he speaks of a *collection* made by the Churches of Macedonia and Achaia, with which he was hastening to Jerusalem, which fixes it to that time. And also that he wrote his first Epistle to Timothy, whom some of the Ephesians would not obey, while others attempted to force themselves upon him as bishops and ministers; so that the Epistle is St. Paul's commission, to the Ephesians as well as to Timothy†.

Having on a former occasion sailed from Cenchrea into Syria, the Apostle intended to have done the same; but hearing that the Jews laid in wait, either to rob him of the monies, which at his request had been collected in the Macedonian and Grecian Churches, for the relief of the poor saints in Judea, or to kill him, he changed his course, purposing to return through Macedonia the way he had come. Sopater or Sofipater of Berea, Aristarchus and Secundus, of Thessalonica; Gaius, of Derbe, and Timothy, who

* The original word *επαρκαλίσας* signifies both exhortation and consolation. Acts xx. 2. This tour would of course take up several months, during which he met with Titus, who brought him a pleasing account of the Christians at Corinth; 2 Cor. vii. 5—7. whose liberality in assisting the contribution he was then raising for the poor Believers in Judea, he mentioned to excite the Macedonians to imitate them. 2 Cor. ix. 2. viii. 1—14. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians was therefore written from Macedonia at that time, and was sent by Titus, who returned to get the collection in still greater forwardness.

† See 1 Tim i. 3, 18; iv. 6, 12, 13; v. 21, 22.

had left Ephesus; and Tychicus and Trophimus, of Asia*, went before, and tarried of St. Paul, and Luke the sacred Historian, at Troas; who, after the feast of the Passover at Jerusalem was ended, sailed from Philippi, and in five days joined them; where they continued a week.

The day before they departed being the Christian Sabbath, when the Disciples assembled for public worship, particularly for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the Apostle preached to them, and continued his sermon until midnight. Probably to obviate an objection of the Pagans, who maliciously propagated that the Christians held meetings in the night for the purpose of committing acts of wickedness, the sacred Historian observes concerning the upper chamber wherein they assembled, that there were many lights therein. During this long discourse, a young man called Eutychus, who sat in a window, doubtless kept open, to prevent heat, both from the lamps, and the number of people, being overpowered with sleep, fell from the third loft, and was taken up dead; whom the Apostle, by stretching himself upon the body, in imitation of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, miraculously restored to life. After taking some refreshment, and conversing with the Disciples, even till break of day, he departed.

He desired his companions to go by sea to Assos, a sea-port town of Mysia, on the Asiatic coast, called also Apollonia; while he himself chose to go by land, and alone. He had his own reasons for this; probably that he might instruct some in the principles of Christianity on the way, or enjoy more free and full communion with God. Solitude is necessary, and peculiarly acceptable to a pious Minister of the Gospel, that he may more accurately inquire into the will of God, receive the truth as from his lips, enter more fully into the divine life, and implore success on his ministerial labours. And the most holy Christian

* The several persons here mentioned some think were joined with St. Paul, as messengers of the Churches, in carrying their contributions to the poor Brethren at Jerusalem. Compare 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4; and 2 Cor. viii. 19.—23.

cannot always be easy in the best company, he must sometimes be alone, to engage in such devotional exercises, which it would not be proper to do in the presence of his most intimate friends. *When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.* Not that I would confine the pure enjoyments of religion to places of retirement, nor say that he who excludes himself from the public walks of life is a pious man :

Truth is not local, God alike pervades
And fills the world of traffic and the shades,
And may be fear'd amidst the busiest scenes,
Or scorn'd where busines never intervens. *Cooper.*

When our path is illumined from above, the wilderness becomes pleasant as the land of promise; or in the most numerous assemblies, or greatest cities, we are recollect ed, and find a hermitage everywhere.

On his arrival at Assos, he went on board the ship in which his companions were, and sailed thence to Mitylene*, a considerable sea-port in the island of Lesbos, which is one of the largest in the Archipelago. They sailed thence, and the next day got opposite Chios†, a noted island between Lesbos and Samos; the day after, arrived at Samos, a famous island of Ionia, about five miles from the Asiatic continent, and tarried a while at Trogylgium, a promontory not

* From this city, the whole island is now called *Metelin*, which lies about seven miles from the main land of Troas, and near the mouth of the Hellespont. on which account it is thought worthy of a fortress, and the defence of the Ottoman sword. It is memorable for Sappho, the inventress of Sapphic verses; Alcaeus, a famous lyric poet; Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece; Theophrastus, a noble physician and philosopher; and Arion, a celebrated musician.

† Chios or Scio lies parallel with Smyrna, and is reckoned not more than four leagues from the Asiatic continent. It is about 50 miles in length, and 25 in breadth, mountainous and of a poor soil, and called by the Turks, *Saki Ada*, i. e. Mastic-island, with which article it supplies the royal seraglio. This gum, which is chewed by the Turkish ladies, in order to preserve their teeth clean, and their breath sweet, is collected by the Christian inhabitants of the island: who, as as a remuneration for it, are exempted from half the poll-tax. Sir Paul Rycaut says, that in no place of the Turkish dominions do the Christians enjoy more freedom in their religion and estates; to which they are entitled by the articles of capitulation made with Sultan Mahomet II. so that a Turk cannot abuse a Christian without severe correction.

far from Samos*, and the day following landed at Miletus†, a sea-port on the continent of Ionia, near Ephesus. While here, St. Paul sent for the Elders of the Ephesian Church, to whom he addressed a discourse, which began in softest words of insinuating eloquence, continued in expressions of most passionate affection, and concluded with a solemn valediction and moving prayer, which affected all the tender passions of nature. There are three things chiefly observable therein,—his vindication of himself—his exhortation to those ministers—his recommendation of all his hearers to God and the word of his grace. *And, not only a part, but, they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him. Sorrowing most of all for some words he had spoken, intimating that they should see his face no more.* The final loss of a faithful minister, is the occasion of great sorrow to a pious people.

Accompanying him to the ship, he had to force himself away from them; after which, loosing from Miletus, he and his company sailed with a straight course to Coos‡, a large island in the mouth of the Archipelago, 70 miles in circumference, and 20 from the Asiatic shore. On the succeeding day they landed at Rhodes§, an island in the Mediterranean, famous

* Samos was once powerful, rich, and populous; but it is so reduced by the Turks, that a few pirates dare land and plunder it as they please. In this island was Pythagoras born, one of the fathers of philosophy, which he carried into Greece, and thence into Italy.

† Miletus is memorable for being the birth-place of Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and founder of the Ionic sect of philosophy; as also for the birth of Anaximander his scholar, Timotheus the musician, and Anaximenes the philosopher. At present this place is called by the Turks *Melas*; not far from which is the famous river Maeander, which, though it encircles the plains through which it runs, with innumerable mazes and windings, yet in some places rolls with a very rapid and impetuous current.

‡ Coos, or Cos, now commonly called *Lango*, was one of the islands of the Cyclades, famous for the worship of Esculapius, and the Temple of Juno. There also Hippocrates, the prince of physicians, and Apelles, the celebrated painter, were born; the former of whom flourished at the time of the Peloponnesian war; and the latter in the time of Alexander the Great.

§ Rhodes was reckoned formerly one of the principal universities of the Roman empire; along with Marceilles, Tarsus, Athens, and Alexandria. It was celebrated among the ancients for the clearness of its atmosphere; some of them say, that there is not a day in the whole year, wherein the Sun

for the brazen Colossus, erected by Demetrius, king of Asia, in honour of the Sun, which the Islanders worshipped. Sailing thence, they touched next at Patara, a port and the chief city of Lycia, 80 miles east; beautified with many temples, of which one was dedicated to Apollo, whose oracle therein, for credit and wealth, was not much inferior to that of Delphi. Finding a ship bound for Phoenicia, they went on board, and, leaving Cyprus on the left, sailed for Syria, and arrived at Tyre*, where she was to unlade.

Though our Saviour was several times near this city, yet he never entered, to make Disciples; but afterwards his Gospel was carried thither, and proved successful. St. Paul, and his companions, tarried there seven days; finding some Disciples, who, through the spirit of prophecy, foreseeing the danger to which he would be exposed at Jerusalem, attempted to dissuade him from going to that city. But neither their predictions, nor intreaties prevailing, they, with their wives and children, accompanied their kind visitants to the shore, who, before they separated, kneeled down and prayed.

Thence they sailed to Ptolemais†, 28 miles south; situated on one of the finest bays on that coast, in the

does not shine there. Hence there was erected, across the mouth of the harbour, and consecrated to the Sun, a vast statue of brass, called *Colossus*, 70 cubits high, so that the ships sailed between its legs; it was considered as one of the seven wonders of the world. Some tell us, the artificers were 12 years in making it; 66 years after its erection it was thrown down by a terrible earthquake, and lay several hundred years. Afterwards, on the city being taken, the Saracens carried it into Egypt, loading 900 camels therewith.

* Tyre was an ancient city and port, and famous for its trade and colonies, and the greatest mart of the East. After a siege of 13 years, it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Another built near it, flourished much in the time of the Persian monarchy; but Alexander the Great, about 300 years before Christ, though almost insurmountable difficulties lay in his way, in the space of seven months, took and sacked it. Eight thousand men were slain in the sackage, thirty thousand sold for slaves, two thousand crucified, and, according to the prophetic declaration, the city was devoured with fire. For a farther account of this remarkable event, see Ita. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi. Zach. ix. 1—8. Rollin's Ancient History, vol. 6. sec. 7. and Prideaux's Con. P. 1. b. 7; with Brown's Harmony, chap. a. It was afterwards repaired, and, when St. Paul was there, rather stately: but now it lies in ruins, being a mean town, subject to the Turks, and by them called *El porta del Zur*, the haven of Zur.

† Ptolemais is an ancient city, which, on a division of the land, fell by lot to the tribe of Asher; its name was *Acco*, Judg. i. 31. It was the scene of many celebrated actions in the holy war. The Turks, who are now masters of

neighbourhood of Mount Carmel ; which had been enlarged and beautified by Ptolemæus Philadelphus, king of Egypt, about 250 years before Christ, from whence it had its name. After saluting the Christian brethren there, and continuing with them one day, they went to Cæsarea *Stratonis*, but whether by sea or land we cannot determine ; and that being the residence of Philip the Evangelist, they abode with him many days. During which time, there arrived a certain prophet, named Agabus, who, for having foretold a famine, which happened in the time of Claudius, was held in high esteem. And as it was usual with the Prophets of old, to exemplify their prophecies by significant symbols, that thereby they might make a deeper impression, he took Paul's girdle, bound his own hands and feet, and said, *Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.* On hearing this, the Apostles, his companions, the Disciples in Cæsarea, most earnestly and affectionately, even with tears, intreated him not to proceed as he intended. But they were unable to prevail : he told them they might, by their expressions of love, and anxiety for his safety, occasion much distress of mind, but not cause him to yield, and violate his own conscience ; and, so far from dreading the sufferings before him, *he was ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus.* That he might defend the Gospel, and promote the glory of its Author, were the things he had chiefly in view ; and for the accomplishment thereof, he feared neither sufferings nor death in any form. Having a firm trust on God, a lively faith in Christ, a divine peace in his own conscience, his affections weaned from the world, and a

all that region, call it *Acre* or *Acre*, which is nearer its old Hebrew name ; and, when Maundrel was there, in 1697, it was a heap of ruins ; but has again revived by the industry of Daher ; and the works erected by Djezzar, in our own time, have rendered it one of the principal towns on that coast.—In 1799, aided by the British, under Sir W. S. Smith, it withstood a severe siege by the French, under General Bonaparte, who raised the siege after failing in a twelfth assault, made over the putrid bodies of his soldiers.

well-grounded hope of heaven ; he had nothing to fear but every good to expect in the world to come.

After making up their baggage, (which contained the alms they were carrying,) some of the Disciples of Cæsarea went with them to Jerusalem, and conducted them to one Mnason of Cyprus, an old Disciple, at whose house they lodged. They met with a pleasing reception from the Christian brethren* ; and on the succeeding day St. Paul and his companions visited James, (commonly distinguished by the *Lefs*,) who it seems was the only Apostle then resident at Jerusalem, and presiding over the Churches in Judea : at this interview all the ordinary stated ministers were present. After this salutation, he recited to them his labours and success, both among the idolatrous and proselyte Gentiles ; for which they rendered the praise and glory to God ; and reciprocally acquainted him with the success the Gospel had among the circumcised, saying, *Thou seest, brother, how many thousandst of Jews there are which believe.* Well might our Saviour compare his religion to *a grain of mustard seed*, seeing it had so extensively spread in so short a time. Its beginning was small, the instruments apparently mean, the prejudices and obstinacy of the Jews very great, and yet, in about twenty years after the ascension, the number of those who believed, had embraced it, and were at one time in the same city, was stated at several thousands:

From the beginning of the Christian mission to that time, Jerusalem continued, not only the central place, but the principal seat of this religion ; and, it is surprising that the believing Jews attended to the ceremonial part of the law of Moses ! St. Paul taught those who were dispersed into other countries, and believed, that it was abrogated by the death of Christ ; and, therefore, by the most punctual attention thereto, no man could be justified. He acquainted the unconverted

* *Αριστας* smilingly, or with a cheerful countenance.

† The Greek word is *μυριάδες* *myriads*; by these Lardner supposes to be intended chiefly the Church at Jerusalem; but Benson and Doddridge think these numerous converts were, most of them, Jews, dispersed in other countries; who were come up to Jerusalem to worship at some of the great festivals; and afterwards returned to their respective countries.

Gentiles also; that they had no concern with it, and ought not to submit to those rites. While at the same time, he enjoined both of these to observe the precepts of the moral law established in the hands of the Mediator, whose death is the procuring cause of a sinner's justification, for he is *the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.*

Now it appears that the *liberty* of the Gospel had not been sufficiently explained to the Jewish converts in Jerusalem ; or they did not believe their teachers ; therefore indulged unfavourable thoughts of St. Paul, by reason of the instructions he had given concerning the non-observance of the ceremonies of the law. To obviate their prejudice, the Apostle James, and the Elders, prevailed upon him, contrary to his own judgment, to engage in a vow of Nazariteship ; hence he and four more expended money, in buying lambs, rams, oil, flour, and other things required by the law, and shaved their heads to show that it was accomplished. The Jews, seeing him in the Temple, and supposing that he had brought into the inner part of the court with him, Trophimus, who was a Gentile Christian of Ephesus, whom they had seen in the city, stirred up all the people, apprehended, and, in a riotous manner, dragged him out, immediately shut the doors that he might not take sanctuary at the horns of the altar, and were on the point of killing him, when captain *Lysias*, from the castle *Antonia*, arrived, and providentially saved his life. He made him a prisoner, commanded him to be bound with two chains, one probably on his hands, and another on his feet ; which was the accomplishment of the prophecy of Agabus ; and not being able, on account of the confusion among the multitude, to get a right understanding of the affair, ordered him to the castle.

In the way, when he had got upon the stairs that led from the cloisters of the temple, by the permission of the Captain, he made his defence to the Jews, who heard with attention until he asserted his mission to the Gentiles, upon which they became so enraged, that the guard of soldiers were commanded to carry

him forward. Supposing him to be a notorious offender, and that he might extort a confession of his crime, the Captain gave orders that he should be scourged ; but, as they were binding him to a post or column, with thongs or pieces of leather, he pleaded the privilege of a Roman citizen, by which he prevented it.

On the succeeding day, his chains were taken off, the members of the Sanhedrim called, and he placed before them for examination, that the Captain might learn what charge they had against him. In the beginning of his defence, he asserted, that *he had lived in all good conscience before God until that day* ; which so exasperated his accusers and judges, that the high-priest Ananias commanded those who stood near him, to smite him on the mouth. This indignity was contrary to all laws of decency and order, and shows what sort of spirit actuated those rulers. The Apostle said to him, *God shall smite thee, thou whited wall ; for smitest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law**. Perceiving that one part of the council was Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried aloud in the hearing of the whole court, *I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee : of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.* Upon this the Council divided, and the dissension growing great, the Captain, to rescue the Apostle from danger, ordered a sufficient number of soldiers peremptorily to take him back to the castle.

Early the next morning, more than forty of the unbelieving Jews, entered into a conspiracy, binding

* Ananias was the son of *Nebetetus*, and, by his station, head of the Sanhedrim. The expression *thou whited wall*, when applied to men, is a paraphrase of an hypocrite, and so is as if he had said *thou hypocrite*. *God shall smite thee*, is not an imprecation, but a minatory prediction, not a desire of revenge, but a prophecy of judgment from God upon him. He had before, been sent in chains to Rome, to answer to *Claudius Cæsar* for his behaviour in a quarrel which had happened between the Jews and Samaritans, during the government of *Cumanus* in Judea ; but being acquitted, probably at the intercession of *Agrrippa* the younger, he returned to Jerusalem, and still enjoyed the dignity of the high-priesthood. And five years after his insolent conduct to St. Paul, *God did remarkably smite him* : for after his own house had been reduced to ashes, in a tumult begun by his own son, he was seized and taken in the royal palace ; where, having in vain attempted to hide himself in an old aqueduct, he was dragged out and slain by a Jewish captain.

themselves, by a solemn anathema, neither to eat nor drink until they had killed him. But on the preceding night, the Lord stood by him, and said, *Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.* The conspirators, being confident of the approbation and assistance of the chief members of the Council, informed them of their design. The plan concerted was, that the Council should intreat the Captain to bring the Apostle to the bar on the day following, for a further examination; and that they, lying in the way from the castle to the temple, would kill him.

A discovery of this being made, and St. Paul's nephew hearing thereof, told him, who, calling the Captain of the guard, desired he would take the young man to Lysias, he having something of importance to relate to him. He readily complied, the chief Captain behaved to the youth with much tenderness and condescension; and from his information, frustrated the whole scheme. For he immediately called two centurions, and commanded them to get ready 200 soldiers, also 70 horsemen, with 200 pikemen for their protection, at three o'clock in the morning, and carry the prisoner to Felix*, the Roman governor of Judea, who chiefly resided in Cæsarea. With the commander of the detachment, he sent a letter to Felix, stating the prisoner's case. Accordingly the soldiers conveyed him by night to Antipatris†, which was about 38 miles, and half-way to Cæsarea. There they halted; and apprehending no more danger from the

* The Roman historians say, that Felix was a man of mean birth, he and his brother Pallas being born slaves. The latter became a great favorite of the emperor Claudius, and continued to have interest also in Nero's court; and by his influence got his brother advanced, to be governor of Judea. Felix was a wicked and tyrannical man: he sent assassins into the family of Jonathan the high-priest, (who had reproved him for his covetousness, injustice, and taking bribes;) and mixing with the servants, they raised a tumult and killed him. The Jews accused him before Nero of many outrages, and, if Pallas had not interposed in his favour, he had certainly been ruined.

† Antipatris had formerly been called *Caphar Salama*, (*Macc. vii. 31.*) but being rebuilt, or repaired, by Herod the Great, it was by him named *Antipatris*, in honour of his father *Antipater*. Its distance from Jerusalem, some think rendered the journey too far for one night's march, and conclude, that the soldiers only travelled by night, and rested in the day.

conspirators, the foot returned to the castle, and left the horsemen to proceed; who, as soon as they arrived, delivered the letter and the prisoner, thus discharging themselves of all further trust. And now what Christ had said to his Disciples was verified in this Apostle, *Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake.*

At Rome, the plaintiff had six hours allowed to accuse, and the defendant nine to make his answer: Felix, knowing this, would not enter upon St. Paul's trial, until his accusers arrived from Jerusalem. After five days Ananias the high-priest, with the principal members of the Council arrived, and employed one Tertullus, whom some writers say was an Italian by birth, well skilled in the Roman law, and of great celebrity for his readiness and eloquence in speaking, to plead their cause. This orator brought three charges against the Apostle—*sedition, heresy, and a profanation of the temple;* who returned separate answers to each. Felix, having heard both parties, put them off to another time, saying, When I am better informed concerning this sect, and the chief captain Lysias is here, I will inquire more narrowly into this affair. And he commanded the centurion to keep Paul, as a prisoner at large, and to prohibit none of his acquaintance from sending him food, books, or other accommodations, or visiting him in person.

After he had been kept some days in this gentle confinement at Cæsarea, Felix, who had been absent for a short time, returning thither again, with Drusilla his wife*, who was a Jewess, sent for him, to give an account of his religion, and, after hearing, endeavoured to acquaint himself therewith. The Apostle, knowing the characters of the persons whom he had to

* Drusilla was the daughter of Herod Agrippa, and one of the finest women of that age. She had been married to Azzus, king of Emessa, who submitted to circumcision, and so embraced Judaism, as the condition of the nuptials. Felix, enamoured with her beauty, employed one Simon, a wicked Jew, who professed himself a magician, to persuade her to abandon her husband, and marry him, though a heathen; to which she consented. She was afterwards, with a son she had by Felix, consumed in an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. See Joseph. Antig. lib. 20. cap. 7.

address, used not the studied eloquence of Tertullus, but with plainness and the energy of divine truth reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, which moved, terrified*, and confounded the governor, while the heart of the partner of his crimes seemed callous. She had been accustomed to hear of a future judgment, as Bishop Atterbury excellently observes: perhaps she also trusted to her being a daughter of *Abraham*, or to the expiation of the law, and therefore was proof against the convictions which seized her husband, though a Heathen. Let this teach us to guard against all such false dependencies as those, which tend to elude convictions, that might otherwise be produced in us, by the faithful preaching of the word of God. Let us stop our ears against those messengers of Satan, who appear as angels of light, and would teach us to reconcile the hope of salvation with a corrupt heart or an unholy life†.

Felix dismissed the Apostle; intimating that he would, at some future opportunity call for him, and hear more fully his doctrine in private. This probably might be his intention: he however afterwards sent frequently, and communed with him: but with what design? to be instructed in the knowledge of Christianity? so far from this, he expected money would have been given him for the liberty of so able a minister, and, waiting for that, fell short of the treasure of the Gospel. Seeing covetousness was the spring of his humanity to St. Paul, it is somewhat strange, that the prosecutors did not bribe him to act with vigour against the object of their hatred.

When he had been more than two years a prisoner in Cæsarea, Nero took the Government of Judea out of the hand of Felix, and nominated Portius Festus as his successor. Now about three days after he had begun to govern the province, he went from Cæsarea to the metropolis, in conformity to the Roman law, and in order to make himself acquainted with the

* Felix trembled, ἐμφόγος, he was in fear, or wholly made up of fear; his awakened conscience said amen to St. Paul's reasonings.

† See Bishop Atterbury's Sermon on *Acts xxiv. 25.*

state of their public affairs. There the high-priest, and the chief of the Jews, who had been Paul's prosecutors before Felix, endeavoured, by misrepresentation, to prejudice him against this Apostle; and desired, that he would send for him to Jerusalem; *laying an ambush* of desperate wretches, to intercept his journey, and *kill him by the way*. But he, anxious to preserve the Imperial privileges, denied their request; informing them, that he himself would depart shortly to Cæsarea, and those of them who were able to manage the prosecution in a legal manner, might go thither also to the bar of Nero. Thus was he the means of preserving St. Paul's life. By what invisible springs, and with what silence, wisdom, and energy, does God govern the world!

When Festus had tarried about ten days, he returned to his seat of Government; and, as expedition in administering justice is commendable, he, the day after, on the arrival of the accusers, sitting on the seat of judgment, commanded Paul to be brought to the bar. At this crisis his prosecutors flocked round him, and with their envenomed tongues, laid many grievous accusations to his charge, similar to those produced before Felix; but their assertions, though bold, were insufficient to substantiate their charges; from which, the accused, with the greatest ease, vindicated himself. The faithful servants of Christ are happy in their own innocence, and their enemies render themselves odious in accusing them falsely.

Felix, to palliate his injustice and tyranny in governing the Jews, *left Paul bound*; and Festus, to conciliate their esteem, asked him, saying, *Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me?* But justly apprehensive of the danger that would attend being sent thither, he rejected the proposal, claimed the privilege of a Roman, and appealed to Cæsar. This, for the present, concluded the business; and the prosecutors lost all hope of accomplishing his death. What the Jewish doctors said concerning Job is applicable here, viz. that the Devil was more cha-

grimed at his inability to take away his life, than this patient man was with all his afflictions.

Some days after this, king Agrippa*, and Bernice† his sister, visited Festus, and congratulated him on his advancement to the government of the province. When they had been there many days, feasting and indulging in mirth, Festus entertained the King with a relation of Paul's trial, and perhaps asked his advice; because the Romans had then no laws against the Christians: they were looked upon as a sect of the Jews, and provided they injured no man in civil rights, nor made any disturbance in the state, were protected by the Roman laws. As Agrippa understood the Jewish customs and privileges, he was a proper person to consult, consequently able to direct Festus how to form his charge against the prisoner, in so uncommon and remarkable a case. And whether to oblige him, or excited by curiosity to see so eminent a Christian teacher, he desired to hear St. Paul; and Festus promised he should on the morrow.

All the chief officers, both military and civil, attended the governor, and his royal guests, who had a numerous and splendid train, making a most pompous and magnificent appearance. When they were seated, Paul being ordered came forth, having his chains on; Festus, in a short speech, showed the occasion of the

* This was the son of Herod Agrippa who killed the apostle James and was eaten of worms at Cæsarea. Claudius had made him King of Chalcis: he was by profession a Jew, had the power of the temple, and the sacred treasury, and could likewise dispose of the high-priesthood as he thought proper.

† Bernice, his sister, was the eldest daughter of Herod Agrippa, and sister to Drusilla the wife of Felix. In her infancy she had been contracted, by Claudius, to Mark, son of Alexander Lysimachus, the Alabarch; but, he dying before the marriage was consummated, her father married her to his own brother Herod, King of Chalcis, though that was contrary to the law of Moses. After his death, she went to her brother Agrippa, with whom she lived in a scandalous familiarity. To wipe off this asperion, she offered herself to Polemon, king of Cilicia, upon condition that he would become a *proselyte of righteousness*; who consenting to be circumcised, married her. But she continued not long with her husband, which occasioned his casting off the Jewish religion; and returned to live in incest with her brother. Being beautiful, she afterwards insinuated herself into the affections of Titus Vespasian, of which Tacitus and Suetonius speak; and as he passionately loved her, would have made her empress, had not the clamours of the Romans prevented it.

meeting, also justified the prisoner before that illustrious assembly ; and requested advice, particularly from Agrippa, that he might better state his case to the Emperor. That the King might be able to form a right judgment, he said to Paul, *Thou art permitted to speak for thyself.* Stretching forth his hand, he entered on his defence : and after refuting the accusations of the Jews, declaring his former unbelief and cruelty to the Christians, and avowing his miraculous conversion and divine call to the apostleship ; while enlarging upon the faith of the Gospel, particularly, that *Christ should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles,* Festus interrupted him, by saying with a loud voice, *Paul, thou art beside thyself ; much learning doth make thee mad.* i. e. To talk of the resurrection of a man who is dead and buried, and to say that he appeared to, and ordained thee a minister and witness, that he is the Saviour of the world, and would enlighten, not only his own barbarous nation the Jews, but even the Gentiles, and, amongst others, the polite and learned Romans and Greeks, all this is mere fancy, and the effect of a distracted imagination.

After refuting the charge, with modesty, politeness, and respect, he turned again to the royal personage, and said, *King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets ? I know that thou believest.* This direct and bold appeal, so seized, affected, and overpowered the King, that he could scarcely make any resistance ; but replied, *I am but a little from being persuaded to be a Christian :* which is an acknowledgement that the reasons and proofs advanced in favour of Christianity were convincing. A writer very pertinently says, See here, *Festus altogether an Heathen, Paul altogether a Christian, Agrippa halting between both.* Poor *Agrippa !* but almost persuaded ? so near the mark, and yet fall short ! another step and thou art within the veil. Reader, stop not with *Agrippa*, but go on with *Paul* ; whose heavy chains Christianity rendered light and tolerable,—these were soon exchanged for ornaments of glory ; which now deck his immortal soul in the presence

of God, with a lustre infinitely superior to what the diadem of Agrippa, or the robes of Festus could display. The assembly breaking up somewhat abruptly, the principal persons went aside, and, after conferring together, unanimously said, *This man doeth nothing worthy of death, or of bonds*; and therefore condemned the judgment of his persecutors, who averred, *he was not worthy to live*. And Agrippa said to Festus, *This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar*. True; but when he made the appeal, it was the most proper method he could take for his own security.

As soon as it was determined to sail into Italy, the Apostle, and certain other prisoners, were delivered to one Julius, a centurion of a cohort, belonging to the *Augustan legion*; with whom Luke the sacred Historian, and Aristarchus the Macedonian, of the city of Theffalonica, continued. Embarking in a ship of Adramyttium, a city of Mysia, they weighed anchor, intending to sail by the coasts of the Lesser Asia, on the north of the Mediterranean; and the next day reached Sidon, a celebrated city on the Phœnician coast, about 40 miles north of Cæfarea. Through the courtesy of Julius, St. Paul was allowed to go on shore, and refresh himself among his friends. From thence they sailed under Cyprus, and, because the wind was in the south-west quarter, were hindered from taking the direct course, which lay to the south, therefore steered to the north, between it and the coast of Cilicia. And sailing across that part of the Mediterranean, which washes the borders of the provinces of Cilicia and Pamphylia, they came to Myra, a city of Lycia, in which province is the foot of Taurus, the most celebrated mountain of all the Asiatic continent.

There was an extensive commerce, confisting chiefly of the produce of Egypt, Persia and India, carried on between Alexandria and the coasts of Italy; and Julius, meeting with a ship bound for the latter, took his prisoners out of that which had brought them to Myra, and put them therein. When they had sailed many days, and made but little way,

either by reason of a calm, or because the wind was contrary, and had scarcely got opposite Cnidus, a city and promontory of Doris, in the peninsula of Caria, they steered to the south and sailed under Crete, over against Salmone, another promontory on the eastern coast of that island ; and passing it with difficulty, came to a place named *The Fair Havens*, so called to this day ; not far from which was the city of Lasea, or, some say, *Alassa*.

Having made but little way, the season being far advanced, and the art of Navigation very imperfectly known, sailing of course would be very dangerous. The great annual feast of expiation, which God had commanded the Jews to observe on the tenth day of the seventh month, called *Tisri*, which answered to part of our September and October, had been past some time, consequently, the nights were increasing in length, and would be dark ; and at this stormy season, the floods came down upon the Mediterranean Sea, which caused them to decline sailing to distant parts until about Easter. St. Paul, foreseeing the dangers to which they would be exposed, if they left *The Fair Havens*, intreated those who had the chief management of the voyage, not to put out to sea. But Julius, believing the master and owner of the ship were better skilled in the art of navigation than he, regarded not his advice : and, as this harbour was inconvenient to winter in, the greater part of the men on board wished to try if by any means they could reach Phenice, which was situated on a gulf or bay on the south side of Crete, between two promontories, one pointing to the south-west, and the other to the north-west, which rendered it safe from the dangerous east winds. Some think it had its name from the merchants of Tyre and Sidon, (cities of Phoenicia,) who frequently resorted thither.

The south wind blowing gently, and supposing themselves sure of making this bay, they weighed anchor, and sailed close to the shore of Crete, without any fear of being driven upon it. But shortly, there arose in the north-east, a tempestuous wind, called,

by the sacred Historian, *Euroclydon*, by Pliny, *the mariner's plague*, and in the modern language, a *Levanter*, which drove them from the coast; this not being a *point-wind*, but rather a kind of *hurricane*, often shifting its quarter, tossed them backward and forward in the Adriatic. And as it took the ship out of the command of the mariners, who were unable to make her bear against the wind, or, as it runs in the Greek, could not make her direct her eye against the wind, nor look it in the face, they therefore made no further attempts, but were driven before it. And running under a certain island called *Clauda*, a little to the southwest of Crete, they, with the utmost difficulty preserved the boat, by taking it into the ship, from the violence of the storm, to be ready in case of any exigence. Having secured this, they undergirt the ship, or bound her with ropes to prevent her from bulging or splitting; and fearing, as the wind had varied more to the north, and driven them towards Africa, they should fall upon the greater or the less *Syrtis*, those quickfounds upon the African coast so well known for the destruction of mariners and vessels; struck sail, that their progress might be slower, and so were driven before the wind. As they were exceedingly tossed, mounting up to the heavens as it were on the swelling surges, then falling down as to the bottom of the deep, (in which, to use the mariner's phrase it would seem impossible that a ship could live at sea,) to prevent the vessel from foundering, the next day they threw the goods that were in her over board. And the third day, (either after loosing from *The Fair Havens*, or from their undergirthing the ship under *Clauda*,) the tempest was so great, that the passengers as well as mariners were employed, who heaved all her tackling overboard, that, drawing less water, they might not be exposed to so much danger from the quickfounds. Life is sweet, and self-preservation a powerful principle: *Skin for skin, said Satan, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life.*

Now the tempest continued without interruption a long time, during which they neither saw the sun by

day, nor the stars by night, and (through the want of the *mariner's compass*,) and not knowing where they were, their distress increased until at length they despaired of life. St. Paul had predicted the tempest, and forewarned the crew and passengers of the approach thereof; and he gently reproved them for not complying with his advice to winter in *The Fair Havens*, and asserted that an angel of the God whom he served, had appeared to him on the preceding night, assuring him, as an answer to his prayers for them, though the ship would be lost, their lives would be preserved, and he carried before Cæsar *; and exhorted them to be of good cheer. He freely acknowledged his relation to God, amongst a company of Heathen soldiers and sailors: his composure, resignation, and compassion, might impress them with an idea of the superiority of his religion and piety. Good men, living among those that are wicked, are often made blessings to them, the latter being saved from temporal judgments, in answer to their prayers. If there had been but *ten* righteous persons in populous Sodom, on the intercession of faithful Abraham, God would have spared it. *Except, saith Isaiah, the Lord of Hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom.* What madness then it is in the wicked, to seek the destruction of the people of God!

On the fourteenth night, as they were tossed up and down in the Adriatic Sea, (which name, in ancient geography, was given to all that part of the Mediterranean which lies south of Italy,) the mariners suspected, about midnight, that they drew near some land. And, letting down a plumb-line, they found the depth of the water twenty fathoms: going a little farther, sounded again, and found it fifteen fathoms: then, apprehending they might run upon some rocky shore, they cast four anchors out of the stern, having ground for them to fasten upon, and anxiously looked for the

* It is reported that Bishop Ridley being once in danger by water, said to the Boatman, *My lad, be of good cheer, and ply your oars, for this Boat carries a Bishop, who must be burnt, not drowned: also of Cæsar, that being in danger at sea, said to the Master, Never fear, thou carriest Cæsar, and his fortune.*

approach of day, that they might see the land, and know their situation. While riding here, under a pretence of carrying out anchors from the foreship, to drop them at a distance from the vessel, that she might be more secure; (though at the same time with a design to make their escape to the shore, and leave the whole company on board to perish,) they let down the boat into the water, and were on the point of entering it, when St. Paul, aware of their intention, said to the Centurion and soldiers, *Except these mariners abide in the ship to manage her, ye cannot be saved;* hereupon the soldiers immediately cut the ropes by which it was suspended, let it fall into the sea, and thus defeated their purpose.

While the darkness prevented their discerning what they ought to do, and as they had been without any regular meal for fourteen days, consequently were weak and faint, and as there was no probability of their reaching the shore without encountering great difficulties, the Apostle affectionately and earnestly intreated them to take some food; which, that they might do with more cheerfulness, he renewed the assurance *that there would not a hair fall from any of them.* After taking bread, he gave thanks to God before them all, for their preservation hitherto, and the assurance that none of them should perish in this voyage, as also for the provisions which they shortly were about to partake; and eating some himself, they likewise took, and were much encouraged. They consisted of prisoners, soldiers, mariners, and probably some merchants, no less than 276 souls. And when they had finished their meal, being satisfied with food, and believing they should need no more sustenance until they were delivered, they, a third time, lightened the ship, by casting the remainder of the wheat into the sea.

When it was day, they saw land, but knew it not; yet perceived a certain creek or little bay, having a level shore convenient for landing, into this they resolved, if possible, to run the ship. Therefore, after taking up the anchors, or cutting the cables, (the original

will admit of either reading) they committed the ship to the mercy of the waves, at the same time loosing the rudder-bands, with which they made fast the helm, and hoisting up the main-fail to the wind, they made for the creek. But falling into a place where two seas met, probably by reason of a sand-bank running parallel with the shore, they ran the ship a-ground; and the forepart sticking fast, remained immoveable, but the hinder part being left loose, was soon broken in pieces with the violence of the waves.

At this awful crisis, there were several prisoners on board, who were to be escorted to Rome, and as the opportunity was favourable, were they so disposed, for escaping out of the hands of their guards, who, aware of the severity of the Roman law for breach of duty, formed the most unjust and cruel purpose of killing them, that they might run no hazard of being suspected of connivance or negligence. This was the greatest ingratitude to the Apostle, who had been so great a blessing to them, and, in answer to whose prayer, God had saved their lives. But the centurion, desirous to save so excellent a person, prevented the execution of this bloody project: and, to hinder any of the prisoners escaping, commanded the soldiers to get to land first, that they might receive and secure them; and those who could not swim, to get on boards, and broken pieces of the ship, and thus endeavour for their safety; and, the wind blowing fair, they all made the shore.

On their arrival, they were informed that the island was called *Melita*, from the abundance of *honey* found therein; for μέλι, signifies *honey*: it is now denominated *Malta**, and is seven leagues in length,

* Malta is situated about the middle of the Mediterranean, between Barbary and Sicily, in latitude $35^{\circ} 30'$ longitude $32^{\circ} 30'$. The island consists of a chalky rock, and as no part of it remains uncultivated, no serpents are now found. In the same manner, of late, in some of the West India islands, serpents have been totally extirpated, by the extent of cultivation, having thereby lost all places of retreat. The saying of the inhabitants, that serpents which are brought hither cannot live, is a fable. The place where St. Paul and his company landed, is at this day shewn to travellers, and goes by the name of *St. Paul's shore, or haven*. The Melitese were originally a colony of the Carthaginians as appears from several old inscriptions in Punic characters, and from the language of the

three in breadth, twenty-one in circumference, and lies twenty south of Sicily. The inhabitants, who spoke an African dialect, received the crew with great humanity, and kindled a fire, on account of the constant rain; but, when the Apostle was laying on it a bundle of sticks which he had gathered, a very venomous viper, roused by the flames, came out, and twisted itself round his arm. The islanders now thought themselves witnesses of Divine vengeance, demanding that justice which the waves had failed to execute. They supposed he was a notorious malefactor, particularly that he had been guilty of *murder*, because they saw the viper *hanging on his hand*, which therefore they judged to have been the offending part; according to the rule which much prevailed among the ancients, that persons were remarkably punished in that part of the body, which had been the principal instrument of their sin. The crime, of which they thought the Apostle guilty, is the most unnatural and inhuman; and God hath often brought it to light when concealed, that the perpetrators might suffer condign punishment.

We read that God set a mark of his indignation on Cain, the first murderer, also that the same crime was made capital to the sons of Noah. Under the Jewish dispensation, it is worthy our notice, that among all the sacrifices appointed for the atonement of sin, there was none for this atrocious crime, nor *city of refuge* for those guilty of it. From the erroneous conclusion of these Barbarians, we may observe, that, generally, by the evils which happen to a man in this life, no certain judgment can be made, either of his good or bad character; in the case before us it was false, as also in that of Job.

But the Apostle shook off the animal into the fire, without receiving harm. Nevertheless, the if-

present inhabitants, the number of whom is said to be above 90,000. The emperor Charles the Vth gave it, in 1530, to the knights of Rhodes, driven out of Rhodes by the Turks. They are a thousand in number, of whom five hundred always reside on the island.—See a work (*highly recommended by the judicious Editors of the ELOCUTIC REVIEW.* No. 6. art. 90.) written by Dr. Oelmann, Upsal, designed for a companion to the younger Clergy; and which, I hope will soon be transferred into our language, by some person of ability and leisure, for public utility.

landers, knowing that the bite of a viper occasioned a sudden and painful death, expected the venom* left in his flesh would have occasioned a burning and swelling, and he have instantly fallen down dead. But divine providence restrained its nature; and now was literally fulfilled that promise of Christ to his disciples, *They shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them.* HE who kept the lions from hurting Daniel, when thrown into their den; and the fire from so much as singeing one hair of the three young pious Jews thrown into Nebuchadnezzar's flaming furnace; also kept this viper from injuring St. Paul. All nature is under the control of God; and as natural agents cannot exert their essential properties, without his providential influence or concurrence, so at pleasure he can restrain these. This remark will illustrate that promise, *I will make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground†.* And also that, *Thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field: and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee‡.*

The islanders, seeing the Apostle unhurt, passed to another extreme, and took him to be a god, in the likeness of a man. This fancy was consistent with the Pagan theology, and the fabulous accounts which prevailed among the Heathen, that their gods sometimes made visits to this lower world. Grotius, Whitby, and some others, think that the Melitese took St. Paul for *Hercules*§, whom they worshipped, and was, according to Ptolemy, one of the gods of the Phoenicians. What a sudden transition! very much like what had happened at *Lystra*. There is scarcely any thing more mutable than men's opinions concerning each

* The poison of a Viper, so inflames the blood, that a person infected with it is tormented as with fire, and quickly dies. For this reason, the ancient Scythians, in war, used to dip their arrows in the blood and gall of vipers, that their enemies wounded by them, might die a painful and sudden death. And, in remote times, some condemned criminals were put to death, by vipers set to their breasts; by this means it was Cleopatra dispatched herself.

† Hof. ii. 28.

‡ Job v. 23.

§ Αλεξικακος, the driver away of evil.

other. Persons of unimproved minds frequently run from one extreme to another, and consequently not much dependence ought to be placed on the warmth of affection, where it is not grounded upon reason and conviction. In the case before us, it is reasonable to suppose, that the providence of God ordered this viper to fasten on St. Paul's hand, that he might be distinguished, and, by his receiving no injury, appear an extraordinary person; and this would also prepare the Maltese to receive the Gospel from him.

In the neighbourhood, where the shipwrecked company had met with such kind treatment, was the estate of Publius, the Roman governor of the island, who, hearing of their distress, as also that an extraordinary person, who seemed to be immortal, was of their number, sent for them to his house, and, with a generous and friendly disposition entertained them in a very hospitable manner for three days*. In return, the Apostle miraculously healed the Governor's father, who was ill of a fever and bloody flux; which diseases, when met together, are very dangerous, and often fatal. This, being speedily noited abroad, throughout the island, excited others who had diseases to apply, whom he also healed. And, no doubt, while thus relieving their bodies, he would attend to their spiritual health; and endeavour to remove from them ignorance, idolatry, and other sins, by preaching the Gofpel, and directing them to apply to Christ for salvation: among other things, he would not forget to correct their mistake in taking him for a god. His doctrine being attended with so many miraculous cures, we may conclude that it was embraced by many: and Ecclesiastical Historians tell us, that he and his companions founded a Christian Church there. The governor's family, and the islanders paid them all possible respect; and, as a testimony

* The Maltese were celebrated for their civility to strangers; and the Greek word *Φιλοφρόνως*, shows that the hospitality of Publius proceeded from a friendly mind. Luke the sacred historian, calls him *πρωτας*, chief, and Grotius has produced an ancient inscription, by which it appears that the title of *πρῶτος*, or chief, was given to the governor of this ifland: being thus elevated in the scale of society, his kind disposition, and beneficence, must have produced happy effects upon his inferiors.

of real esteem, and gratitude for the good they had been instrumental of doing among them, when they were leaving the island, furnished them with plenty of provisions, for comfortable accommodation, during the rest of their voyage to the Italian shore.

We noticed, that the Fast of Expiation was passed before they left Crete, from whence they were fourteen days on their passage to Malta, where they abode three months; at the end thereof, which was about Candlemas, they departed, in another ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the island, and whose sign was Gemini, or the twins, that is, *Castor* and *Pollux*, fictitious Pagan deities, whom the Poets feigned to be the sons of Jupiter by Leda, who presided over storms and tempests at sea, and had the care of mariners; therefore these were chosen by the owners for the patrons of this ship, and their images, which were those of two young men on horseback, with each a javelin in his hand, and by their sides each half an egg and a star, were placed at the head of the vessel. Not long after they had sailed, they made the island of Sicily, and landed at Syracuse, situated on the east shore, which was the metropolis; this was a trading voyage, therefore the Master's attention to his merchandise detained them here three days. Thence they coasted round the eastern shore of the island and came over against Rhegium, a city, in the kingdom of Naples, and promontory in the southernmost part of Italy, now called *Reggio*. After lying here one day, the south-wind blew, and they came the next to Puteoli, another port in Italy, not far from Naples, now commonly called *Puzzoli*. When landed, they found some Christian brethren, who earnestly intreated them to stay seven days, to which the centurion consenting, they left the ship, and proceeded by land to Rome.

From Puteoli, they began their journey on foot; and as probably the brethren there had sent information of this to the Christians at Rome, to whom about three years before the Apostle had written his excellent Epistle, several of them came from thence to meet

them; some as far as Apii-forum, a town in the *Apian-way*, at the distance of fifty-one miles from Rome, others only to Tres Tabernæ or the Three Taverns*, not more than thirty; to offer their sincere respects, and accompany them to the metropolis. At this interview, so long wished for by the Apostle, *he thanked God*; and because they had liberty, thus publicly to come forth, also piety, to own him in his bonds, *took courage*, and performed the remainder of his journey with renewed vigour.

On their arrival at the city, the centurion delivered the delinquents to the noted Burrhus Afranius, *praefect* or *captain* of the *praetorian* band, who had the charge of the state prisoners; but the Apostle was permitted to dwell by himself, in a house he hired for that purpose, also to walk abroad when he pleased, with a soldier to attend him, to whom he was chained, as the Roman custom was. The testimony that Julius gave to the Captain of the guard concerning him, might be the means of this favour. God is the powerful patron of oppressed innocence, and when a man's ways please him, he can make his enemies pity, and be at peace with him.----Who, on meeting the Apostle in these bonds, would have guessed at his real character, and imagined that he was one of the most upright, benevolent, and generous of mankind! It has been observed, that this entry of St. Paul, in chains, into the first city of the World, in order to make it one of the chief of the Church, was more glorious and triumphant to the eye of faith, than all the public entries of the Roman emperors.

As his great love to the Jews engaged him, wherever he came and found any, to labour in the first place to promote their salvation, he, after three days of rest, and probably much prayer, called the chief of them together; to whom he related the cause of his bonds,

* The rendering *Tres Tabernæ, three taverns* conveys the idea of *inns*, or houses appointed for refreshment and accommodation; but the proper meaning of the word *Tabernæ* is *frontier towns*, built to repel the inroads and insults of foreigners. That this was a city, properly so called, and an episcopal see in the time of Constantine, is evident from Optatus, who mentions *Felix a Tribus Tabernis*, of the Three Tabernæ as one of the nineteen bishops.

also that he was come to Rome, not with a design to accuse others, but to defend himself. To his very great surprise, no doubt, they informed him, that they had neither received letters from Judea concerning him, nor had any of the Jews, from other parts, related professedly, in a set discourse, nor occasionally in conversation, any evil of him. The Jews at Jerusalem, either despaired of their cause, when it should be impartially heard, as they supposed it would be before Nero; or because the Apostle was at such a distance from them, they settled among themselves, and were contented with his absence. But though the Jews at Rome had not heard any thing prejudicial to his character, they had against the Christian religion, of which he was a preacher; and, after soliciting his opinion, said, *for as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against.*

On their appointing a certain day, he attended in the morning, and, continued his discourse until evening; insisting that the kingdom of God, which they had long expected, was of a spiritual, and not of a temporal nature; and that Jesus of Nazareth, in whose name he preached, was the person foretold, as the promised Messiah, and Lord of that Kingdom. His sermon produced different effects: some believed, while others would not. Hereupon disagreeing among themselves, they brake up the assembly; but before they departed, he recited a passage of the prophet Isaiah, concerning their fathers, very applicable to them, which denounced a judgment of judicial blindness, as the punishment of wilful unbelief and obstinate hardness of heart; and concluded with a prediction of the removal of the Gospel from them, and that the Gentiles, favoured therewith, would hear and receive it, and enjoy the blessings which they rejected.

After this, and previous to his trial before Cæsar, or his deputy, St. Paul continued two whole years, in his own hired house, unmolested by the Jews; during which time, he preached the Gospel to all who chose to hear him; neither emperor, senate, magistrate, soldier, priest, nor people, forbidding him. In conse-

quence of which, many converts were doubtless made; and this confinement, which seemed to have so discouraging an aspect, was rather a means of promoting the Gospel. Rome, at that time, was in a most flourishing condition, visited by Gentiles from all countries; who, seeing or hearing the boldness and constancy of the Apostle, in preaching and defending the Gospel, as it were before the face of the tyrant, would carry home the tidings, which would be to the furtherance of Christianity. His bonds in Christ, and sufferings for the truth, were noticed in the court, as well as by all who lived in and about the city; he was even successful in converting some of Nero's family, and probably also part of the praetorian soldiers. Many of his retired hours were employed in writing Epistles to several Churches, to the Galatians, (if the subscription at the end be not spurious,) Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon; in which he mentions several things concerning his imprisonment.

Timothy, coming to visit the Apostle in his bonds, was, on some account, made a prisoner also, but afterwards obtained his liberty. When St. Paul was called to make his apology or defence, against the accusations of the Jews, none of the Christians in Rome, through a fear of suffering, durst appear to give their testimony in his favour; except Luke, who stood with him to the last. The Emperor himself was much enraged against him, for which Chrysostom gives this reason, because he had confounded Simon Magus, the sorcerer, whom he highly esteemed.

At last, however, he was *delivered out of the mouth of the lion*, which animal, in power, policy, cruelty, and terror, Nero resembled: he went to Rome about February, in the seventh year of his reign, and in the ninth was set at liberty. The Romans had not yet made any laws against the Disciples of Christ; hence it is most likely that the Christians, in the Imperial family, used their interest with the Emperor to liberate the Apostle. His long confinement completed twenty-five years from our Saviour's ascension. By this is seen the amazing progress which the Gospel had then

made, in the parts of the world which lay west of Jerusalem ; but how far eastward the other Apostles had carried it, in the same time, History does not inform us*. Neither have we any certain information by whom Christianity was first preached at Rome : probably, as some inhabitants of that celebrated city were present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, they, being converted, might, on their return, propagate it by the exercise of extraordinary gifts, and confirm it by the performance of miraculous works.

Whither St. Paul travelled, between this first, and his second imprisonment at Rome, is very uncertain ; we having no authentic documents to give us information. Theoderet says, that he went to the *Islands of the Sea* ; also numbers some *Gauls*, i. e. French, and *Britains*, among the Disciples of the tent-maker. Clemens Romanus expressly affirms, that he preached in the west, even to its utmost bounds ; which must at least include Spain, whither he had intended going. Tradition says, he went thence to Crete, afterwards with Timothy into Judea. In his Epistle to the Hebrews, which it is supposed he wrote shortly after his enlargement, he says, *Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty ; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.* From thence it is supposed he went to visit the Churches in Asia. But in what order he visited these, or how long he remained at any of them, cannot be determined. We are told, however, that about the year of Christ 65, or 67, as Nero had begun to persecute the Christians, on a pretence of their being concerned in burning the city, (of which they were innocent and himself guilty,) he returned to Rome, that he might comfort and encourage them ; where, some say, he met with St. Peter, who, with other Christians, was thrown into prison. The fire was so extensive that it burnt ten of the fourteen parts of which it consisted, and the Emperor beheld the

* As St. Luke concludes his History with St. Paul's abode at Rome, before his journey into Spain, &c. and several years previous to his death, we may conclude, it was published with his approbation, as the ancients also say his Gospel was.

flames with pleasure from the top of a high tower, and played on his lyre, while he sung the destruction of Troy ; a dreadful scene ! which his barbarity had realized before his eyes.

St. Paul fell again into the hands of Nero, who confined him. During his imprisonment, he wrote his second Epistle to Timothy, whom he urged to come to him quickly, as the time of his departure was at hand. He mentions that Demas, who had been his fellow-labourer, had forsaken him ; having loved this present evil world, and was gone to Theffalonica ; where, says Dorotheus, he became an idolatrous priest, and, adds Epiphanius, denied the deity of Jesus Christ, whom before he had professed and preached as the true God and Saviour of the world. Crescens was gone to Galatia, to preach the Gospel. Titus to Dalmatia, a region of Illyricum, whither the Apostle had carried the Christian religion ; a country now subject to the Venetians. Only Luke, his faithful and constant companion, was with him ; Jerome says he was 84 years old when he died, and was buried at Constantinople. Tychicus, the Apostle had sent to Ephesus, to take care of the Churches there. He mentions Onesiphorus with great respect, for his attention to him when at Rome ; also Pudens, a noble senator, a convert of his to the Christian faith ; Linus, afterwards bishop of Rome ; and Claudia, a British lady of noble birth, who going to Rome, was converted by him, and afterwards married to Pudens.

X
Chrysostom relates, that the cause of St. Paul's imprisonment, was his converting one of Nero's concubines ; who, on her becoming moral and holy, was so incensed, that at last he ordered his head to be taken off. It seems to have been universally agreed among all ancient writers, who mention his death, that he was beheaded at *Aqua Salviae*, three miles from Rome ; for being free of that city, he could not be crucified, as Peter was ; whose death, as says the Latin church, took place on the very same day. It is said, and there is every reason to believe it, that this distinguished Apostle yielded to martyrdom with the greatest cheer-

fulness ; and that he was interred in the *Via Ostensis*, two miles from Rome, where Constantine the Great, erected a church to his memory, A. D. 318; which was successively repaired and beautified by Theodosius the Great, and the empress Placidia. This was in the last year of Nero's reign ; who, for his almost unparalleled crimes, was condemned by the Senate, to be dragged naked through the streets, whipped to death, and afterwards thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, like the meanest malefactor : but this, however, he prevented by killing himself, A. D. 68, in the 32d year of his age, after wearing the purple thirteen years and eight months. On this, Rome was filled with acclamations of joy, and the citizens, to indicate it, wore such caps as were generally used by slaves who had received their freedom.

Thus we see, as Dr. Paley observes, that the institution of the Christian religion, which properly *began* only after its author's removal from the world, before the end of thirty years had spread itself through Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, almost all the numerous districts of the Lesser Asia, through Greece, and the islands of the Ægean Sea, the sea-coast of Africa, and had extended itself to Rome, and into Italy. At Antioch in Syria, at Joppa, Ephesus, Corinth, Thessalonica, Berea, Iconium, Derbe, Antioch in Pisidia, at Lydda, Saron, the number of converts is intimated by the expressions, *a great number—great multitudes—much people*. Converts are mentioned, without any designation of their number, at Tyre, Cesarea, Troas, Athens, Philippi, Lystra, Damascus.

The Acts of the Apostles, though containing the best Ecclesiastical History of the first and purest times of the Christian Church, yet does not contain a full and complete account of the progress of Christianity during the time it embraces ; and the success of the Gospel which it mentions is rather *incidental*, than with design ; and, as Dr. Paley justly observes, if what we read in the History be true, much more than what the History contains must be true also. The incidental circumstances of the progress of Christianity men-

tioned, must have connected with them a vast variety of circumstances relating to the same success, which, were we in possession of them all, would not only please, but astonish us. Had the sacred Historian written a detailed account of the rapid and extensive prevalence of Christianity, he must have brought forward a great abundance of additional matter, which would have increased the book to a far greater size. For, as says the above celebrated Author, although the narrative from which our information is derived, has been entitled the *Acts of the Apostles*, it is in fact a history of the twelve Apostles, only during a short time of their continuing together at Jerusalem; and even of this period the account is very concise. The work afterwards consists of a few important passages of St. Peter's ministry, of the speech and death of Stephen, of the preaching of Philip the deacon; and the sequel of the volume, that is, two thirds of the whole, is taken up with the conversion, the travels, the discourses, and history of the new apostle, Paul; in which history also large portions of time are often passed over with very scanty notice.

Parallel testimonies with the History, are the letters which have come down to us of St. Paul, and of the other Apostles. In the epistle to the Romans, the author is led to deliver a remarkable declaration, concerning the extent of his preaching; its efficacy, and the cause to which he ascribes it. *I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed. Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God; so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ.* He means that country now called Sclavonia, which has the Adriatic Sea on the south, and Hungary on the north. This, according to Pareus's computation, was little less than a thousand miles. It is distant from Jerusalem, in a direct line, according to another computation, about fourteen hundred miles; and Archbishop Tillotson says, this journey, according to the account St. Paul gives of it,

is computed to be no less than 2000 miles. But the Apostle did not go straight from Jerusalem to Illyricum, for then he must have gone chiefly by sea, but took a large circuit, preaching in a variety of countries, as providence opened the way.

In the Epistle to the Colossians, we find an oblique, but very strong intimation, of the general state of the Christian mission, at least as it appeared to St. Paul : *If ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel, which ye have heard, and which was preached to every creature which is under heaven ;* this Gospel, he had reminded them of, near the beginning of his letter, *was present with them as it was in all the world.* By *every creature which is under heaven*, is here intended, every human creature wherever the Apostles went ; the Gospel being preached, not in Judea only, but amongst the Gentiles also, and offered to every person, and nation, and tongue. By *all the world* is meant, the most famous parts, regions, and provinces of the world, under the power of the Romans. In this sense, it is several times used, particularly in Luke, where it is said, *there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed*, i. e. all that part of the world under his government. As the progress of the Gospel, at its first promulgation, was wonderful, so likewise was its efficacy great, *it brought forth fruit wherever it came*, i. e. it made many converts to Christianity, changed men's principles and tempers, and formed their conversation and actions according to its nature and rules.

The First Epistle of Peter accosts the Christians dispersed throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. By these the Apostle means the Christianized Jews of the dispersion ; he calls them *strangers*, because they lived out of Canaan, their native country, and were dispersed or scattered through the provinces there mentioned, which were all in the lesser Asia. Philo and Josephus, both Jewish writers, say, that there was no nation in their time, wherein were not some Jews inhabiting, who had been pre-

viously dispersed by their several captivities. Soon after Christ's ascension, the unbelieving Jews made Judea too hot, for those of their brethren who embraced Christianity.

It comes next to be considered, how far these accounts are confirmed, or followed up, by other evidence. In the tenth year of Nero, which coincides with the thirtieth after Christ's ascension, there happened a great fire at Rome, which we have already noticed. Tacitus, in delivering a relation thereof, brings in the Christians, of whom he says,---They had their denomination from Christus, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death as a criminal by the procurator Pontius Pilate. This pernicious superstition, though checked for a while, broke out again, and spread not only over Judea, but reached the city also. At first they were but apprehended, who confessed themselves of that fact; afterwards *a vast multitude* was discovered by them.---This testimony to the early propagation of Christianity is extremely material, says Dr. Paley. It is from an historian of great reputation, who lived near the time; from a stranger and an enemy to the religion: and it joins immediately with the period through which the scripture accounts extend. It establishes these points, that the religion began at Jerusalem, that it spread throughout Judea, that it had reached Rome, and not only so, but that it had there obtained a great number of converts. This was about six years after the time that St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, and something more than two after he arrived there himself. These converts to the religion were then so numerous at Rome, that of those who were betrayed by the information of the persons first persecuted, a great multitude, (*multitudo ingens*), was discovered and seized. The Doctor proceeds,---It seems probable, that the temporary check which Tacitus represents Christians to have received, (*repressa in præfens*), referred to the persecution at Jerusalem, which followed the death of Stephen, and which, by dispersing the converts, caused the institution, in some measure to disappear. Its second eruption at the same

place, and within a short time, has much in it of the character of truth. It was the firmness and perseverance of men who knew upon what they relied.

Pliny the younger, who lived in the closest friendship with Tacitus, (and whose esteem for each other was so mutual, that they corrected each other's works,) in his Letter which was written to the emperor Trajan, not quite eighty years after Christ's ascension, soliciting his counsel and authority how he should act towards the Christians, has the following remarkable words, which, perhaps, are superior in importance to those of Tacitus :---Suspending all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to you for advice; for it has appeared to me a matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering: for many of all ages, and of every rank, of both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country. Nevertheless it seemed to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin to be more frequented; and the solemnities, after a long interruption, are revived. Victims, likewise, are every where (*passim*) bought up; whereas, for some time, there were few to purchase them. Whence it is easy to imagine, that numbers of men might be reclaimed, if pardon were granted to those that shall repent*. Here then is a very signal evidence of the progres of the Christian religion in a short space, says Dr. Paley, in his remarks on this letter. It was not fourscore years after the crucifixion of Jesu, when Pliny wrote this letter; nor seventy years since the Apostles of Jesus began to mention his name to the Gentile world. Bithynia and Pontus were at a great distance from Judea, the centre from which the religion spread; yet in these provinces Christianity had long subsisted, and Christians were now in such numbers as to lead the Roman governor to report to the emperor, that they

* C. Plin. *Trajan.*, Imp. lib. 10. ep. 97.

were found, not only in cities, but in villages and in open countries ; of all ages, of every rank and condition ; that they abounded so much as to have produced a visible desertion of the temples, that the beasts brought to market for victims had few purchasers, that the solemnities were much neglected ; circumstances noted by Pliny, for the express purpose of showing to the emperor the effect and prevalency of the new institution.

Justin, surnamed the martyr, who was born A. D. 103, converted to Christianity about the year 132, and beheaded at Rome, A. D. 167, in his dialogue, with Trypho, a noted Jew, (which he wrote about thirty years after Pliny, and one hundred and six after the ascension,) has these remarkable words : There is no nation, whether of Barbarians, or Greeks, or any others, what names soever they are called by, whether they live in waggons, or without houses, or in tents, among whom prayers are not made, and thanksgiving offered up, to the Father and Creator of all, through the name of the crucified Jesus*.

Irenæus, in his Treatise against Heresies, which, according to Dodwell, he published A. D. 176, has accidentally described the state of the Church in his time, by observing that,—The Christian religion was diffused through the whole earth to the very ends of it. This is the more to be remarked, says Macknight, considering that the persecutions had been so sharp, numerous, lasting, and close on the back of one another.

Tertullian, (who was born at Carthage, about the year of our Lord, 156, became a convert to Christianity, was baptized, in 196, and after various revolutions in his religious sentiments, died at the place of his nativity, A. D. 246 ; about the 90th year of his age, fifty years after Justin, in A. D. 200,) in his *Apology*, gives an account of the prevalence of the Christian faith in his time. Addressing himself to the Roman governors, probably the proconsul of Africa,

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 242.

and the chief magistrate residing in Carthage, he says,— We were but of yesterday, and we have filled your cities, islands, towns and boroughs, the camp, the senate, and the forum. They (the heathen adversaries of Christianity) lament, that every sex, age, condition, and persons of every rank also, are converts to that name. He proceeds,—They are fit and ready for war, though they yield themselves to be killed for their religion. Had they a mind to revenge themselves, their numbers were sufficiently great to appear in open arms, having a party not in this or that province, but in all quarters of the world. Nay, should they all be agreed among themselves to retire out of the Roman empire, the loss would be very seriously felt. The world would be amazed at the solitude which would ensue; and you would have more enemies than friends; whereas, now your enemies are fewer, because of the multitude of Christians, almost all your subjects and best citizens consisting of them. It would be more than a sufficient revenge to us, that your city, were we gone, would be an empty possession to unclean spirits: and therefore Christianity is not to be called a trouble to your cities, but a favour; nor are we to be accounted enemies to mankind, but only adversaries to human errors*.

Tertullian, writing to Scapula, deputy of Africa, then persecuting the Christians, desires him to consider, If he went on with his persecution, what he would do with these many thousands both of men and women, of every rank and age, that would readily offer themselves? what fires or swords must he have to dispatch them? Carthage itself must be decimated, his own friends and acquaintances, the principal men and matrons in the city, will suffer; if you spare not us, spare yourself, spare Carthage; have pity on the province†. Again, when writing against the Jews, by way of setting forth the extensive diffusion of Christianity, he has these words,—The sound (speaking of the apostles) went through all the earth; in whom but in Christ‡, who is

* Tertull. Apol. c. 87.

‡ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. c. 43.

† To Scapula, c. 15.

now come, have all these nations believed? even Parthians, Medes, Elamites, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia and Pamphylia, these who dwelt in Egypt, and the region of Africa, which is beyond Cyrene, strangers and denizens of Rome, Jews at Jerusalem, and the rest of the nations; as also many of the Getuli, many borders of the Moors, the utmost bounds of Spain, divers nations in Gaul, and places of Britain, inaccessible to the Roman armies, have yielded subjection to Christ; and also the Sarmatians, the Dacians, the Germans, and the Scythians, with many obscure countries and provinces, islands, and places unknown to us, which, says he, I cannot reckon up; in all which the name of Christ reigns, because he is now come, before whom the gates of all cities are set open, and bars of iron are snapt asunder; that is, these hearts once possessed by the devil, are opened by faith in him*. And afterwards he demonstrates, that the kingdom of Christ, is more extensive than any of the four grand monarchies.

Origen is generally considered as the most learned of all the Christian fathers; he was born at Alexandria in Egypt, of Christian parents, A.D. 185, and, after much persecution, and great exertions in promoting the cause of learning and truth, died at Tyre, A.D. 253, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. As a writer, he follows Tertullian at the distance of only thirty years, and, in describing the progress of Christianity, says,— In every part of the world, throughout Greece, and in all other nations, there are innumerable and immense multitudes, who, having left the laws of their country, and those whom they esteemed gods, have given themselves up to the law of Moses, and the religion of Christ; and this, not without the bitterest resentment from the idolaters, by whom they were frequently put to torture, and sometimes to death: and it is wonderful to observe, how, in so short a time, the religion has increased, amidst punishment and death, and every kind of torture†.—And again;—By the good providence of God, the Christian religion has so flourished

* Against the Jews, c. 7.

† Or. in Cels. lib. 1

and increased continually, that it is now preached freely without molestation, although there were a thousand obstacles to the spreading of the doctrine of Jesus in the world. But as it was the will of God that the Gentiles should have the benefit of it, all the councils of men against the Christians were defeated; and by how much the more emperors and governors of provinces, and the people every where, strove to depress them, so much the more have they increased and prevailed exceedingly*.

With regard to the city of Rome only, we have some very important information. Porphyry, the Tyrian philosopher, in the account which he wrote of his master Plotinus, who was born in the 13th year of the emperor Severus, A. D. 206, informs us, that while Plotinus lived in Rome, whither he came in the fortieth year of his age, A. D. 246, there were many Christians in the city†. Cornelius, who was bishop of Rome in the time of the Decian persecution, A. D. 251, writing to Cyprian bishop of Carthage, gives the following account of the Christian church there. We have in this place forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, and as many subdeacons; and widows, and other persons maintained by the church, fifteen hundred‡. Valesius, in a note on this quotation from Cornelius, says,— Hence we gather how many churches there were then at Rome, for every presbyter had his particular church; so that, if there were forty-six presbyters, there were also forty-six churches: he refers his readers to Baronius in the year of Christ, 47.—Macknight, from the number of persons who were maintained by the Church, concludes the number of Christians to have been great. His words are,—Now supposing every twentieth person to have received maintenance, there will have been no less than thirty thousand Christians in Rome at this time. A vast number, considering that, the emperors having their usual residence in this city, their edicts for persecution must have been exe-

* Or. con Cels. lib. 7.

‡ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. p. 123.

† De vita Plotin. c. 16.

cuted with the utmost rigour, under their eye, and by their direction*.

Lampadius, a Heathen writer, who flourished in the reign of Dioclesian, A. D. 290, tells us, that the Emperor Alexander Severus, who obtained the purple, A. D. 222, had the image of Christ in his private chapel, would have built him a temple, and admitted him among the gods, as he says Adrian, who became emperor, A. D. 117, intended to have done, had not the priests assured him, from their divination, that it would make all the world Christians, and cause the other temples to be deserted. His words are,—If he had leisure in the morning, he worshipped in his private chapel, wherein he had the deified emperors, making choice however of the best. There also he had the more holy souls, among whom Apollonius, and, as a writer of that age says, Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus, and such like gods; also the image of his ancestors.—He intended to build Christ a temple, and to receive him among the gods; which Adrian likewise is said to have designed, who in every city caused temples to be raised without images, which, because they had no gods, are at this day called Adriani. These temples he is said to have prepared for the end now mentioned; but he was hindered by those who, having consulted the auspices, found that if what he proposed were accomplished, all men would become Christians, and the other temples would be deserted†.

Arnobius, (who was professor of rhetoric at Sicca, in Numidia, and at first a great enemy to Christianity, but afterwards embraced the faith which before he wished to destroy, and wrote a learned and eloquent work, containing seven books, against the Gentiles at the end of the third century, immediately before Constantine's accession,) in his first book against the Gentiles, speaks thus: Is not this an argument for our faith, that in so little a space of time, the sacraments of Christ's great name are diffused over the world? that orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, and phi-

* Bishop of Landaff's Theological Tracts, Vol. 5. p. 804.

† Lamprid apud Hist. August. Script. p. 439. D. p. 351. E.

lophers, men of great genius, love our religion, despising those things wherein before they trusted? that servants will suffer torments from their masters, wives part with their husbands, and children be disinherited by their parents, rather than abandon the Christian faith*.

It is well known, that in the reign of Constantine, who came to the throne about three hundred and twenty years after Christ, Christianity became the religion of the Roman empire; and some Historians think it is probable that he declared himself on the side of the Christians, because they were the powerful party. However that might be, according to the declaration of Eusebius, his conversion to Christianity was very remarkable; which, though some writers of Ecclesiastical History have treated as fable, I shall nevertheless relate. His father Constantius, had been very indulgent to the Christian religion, which might have a good effect on his son Constantine. But that which determined Constantine to embrace this religion was as follows: The people of Rome being weary of the government of those tyrants to whom they had lately been subject, sent to Constantine, who was then in the city of York, in England, to come and take the throne. Having left this island, and marching from France into Italy, against Maxentius, on this expedition, which was likely to exalt or ruin him, he was oppressed with anxiety. Some god he thought needful to protect him: and was principally concerned to what divine power he should recommend himself and his cause. The God of the Christians he was most inclined to respect; but wanted some satisfactory proof of his real existence and power; and neither understood the means of acquiring this, nor could be content with the atheistic indifference, in which so many generals and heroes, since his time, have acquiesced. He had recourse to prayer; and, in that duty, implored, with much vehemence and importunity, direction; and God left him not unanswered. While he was marching with his forces, in the afternoon, the trophy of the cross ap-

* Against the Gentiles, L. 1. p. 53.

peared very luminous in the heavens, higher than the sun, with this inscription, *Conquer by this*. That this was no delusion or fancy, he was convinced from those that attended him, who beheld the glorious object as well as himself; and he and his soldiers were astonished at the sight. He continued pondering on the event: and on that, or the night following, Christ appeared to him when asleep, with the same sign of the cross, and directed him to make use of the symbol as his military ensign. Constantine accordingly obeyed, and the cross was henceforward displayed in his armies; and, now was attended with victory over Maxentius, who perished before the very gates of Rome, in the river near Milvian bridge; this was in the seventh year of his reign. And he was no sooner master of Rome, by this event, than he honoured the cross, by putting a spear of that form into the hand of the statue erected for him there.

At the time when Constantine saw the cross, he was totally unacquainted with the nature and design of Christianity; but asked the Christian pastors who this God was, and what was the meaning of the sign? who rightly informed him of the proofs and principles of this religion, and of the signification of the cross which he had beheld. From this time Constantine believed the truth of Christianity; and persevered in the profession of it to his death. In consequence of this change having taken place in the Emperor, it is easy to predict what would immediately follow in the Roman empire, now no longer pagan but Christian.

Thus have we seen that the power of the Christian religion was so great, that it confounded the cavils of the Jews, conquered the bigotry of the priests, silenced the oracles of the devil, baffled the philosophy of the Heathen, subdued a great part of the world, and enlarged its conquests beyond those of the Roman empire. From the age of Constantine, divine Providence so ordered it, says Dr. Jortin, that Christianity was the reigning religion in the Roman empire, under Christian Emperors, a small interval excepted in the reign of Julian; and this seems to have been necessary

for its support. In process of time it was so much altered and defaced, that, without the protection of the Civil Magistrate, it might have been in danger, and Paganism, new-modelled and refined by philosophers, have gained too many advantages over it. Thus things went on from bad to worse, till the Reformation rescued the Gospel, in some degree, from the hands into which it had fallen. Such was the state of religion for many ages; but Christianity, at the very worst, and under the greatest disadvantages, could not lose her excellence; and undoubtedly produced good effects on thousands and ten thousands, whose lives are not recorded in Ecclesiastical History; which, like other History, is for the most part a register of the vices, the follies, and the quarrels of those who made a figure and a noise in this world.



Of the Causes which operated to produce the speedy and general Spread of the Christian Religion.

The things unknown to feeble sense,
Unseen by Reason's glimmering ray,
With strong, commanding Evidence,
Their Heavenly origin display.

WESLEY,

Whence but from Heaven could men unskill'd in art,
In different nations born, in different parts,
Weave such agreeing truths? Or how, or why?
Should all conspire to cheat us with a lie?
Unask'd their pains, ungrateful their advice,
Starving their gains, and martyrdom their price?

DRYDEN.

HAVING traced the astonishing progress, and wide extension of the religion of Christ, on its first promulgation, we shall proceed to point out some of the causes which operated to produce these effects. Investigating causes, and marking their operations, are attended both with pleasure and profit. In the physical world, these afford ample scope to intellect and literature, and are great luxuries to the mind; but much more in the moral and religious, in which every thing is of far superior importance. In religion, as well as in philosophy, it holds good, that the force of any moving body may be known, from the opposition it overcomes. We have already seen with what hindrance Christianity met, from ignorance, prejudice, interest, learning, authority, power, malice, and strong combinations among men; and, notwithstanding these, how it prevailed, and finally became general and established.

1. A concatenation of providential circumstances, prepared the way for the propagation thereof.

The Jews, being in subjection to the Romans, were thereby prevented making that effectual opposition, which they otherwise would have done. They erroneously expected, that the Messiah would come in the pompous character of a temporal prince and distinguished conqueror; raise them to a state of indepen-

dence and universal dominion; also that under him they would amass immense wealth, and indulge in unbounded pleasure. At his coming, they had an unconquerable love of liberty, but were unable to obtain it. Their factions proved ineffectual struggles, and served only to make their chains the stronger. The miracles that Christ wrought, to convince them of his divine mission, exciting curiosity and surprise, drew multitudes after him, and produced only a political alarm in the breasts of the chief priests and Pharisees, who, thereupon, called a council, in which they said, *What do we? for this man doth many miracles, and if we let him alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans shall come, and take away both our place and nation.* They meditated his death; but could not execute their wicked intentions, without the interference and penal sanction of the Roman governor. Had the sovereign power continued in their hands, the matter would have been brought to a speedy issue; they would have dispatched him and his Apostles, before they had fulfilled their ministry.

Though the Jews were in subjection to the Romans, and prevented from destroying Christianity in its infancy; yet they were not banished out of Judea, nor dispersed into other countries; which was subservient for the better introducing of the Gospel into the world. The Gentiles, being aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise, were not prepared to receive the Messiah; but the Jews were, to whom the prophecies, rites, ceremonies, and significant symbols had been delivered. And therefore the devout and unprejudiced among them, when they saw his credentials, found upon inquiry that he had appeared at the end of Daniel's seventy prophetic weeks, or 490 years, sprung from the tribe of Judah, and that Bethlehem claimed the honour of his nativity, as Micah had foretold, owned and received him. This opened a way for the establishing of his Doctrine in Judea, whence it was gradually diffused and propagated in Gentile or Heathen countries,

The wide extent of the Roman empire greatly facilitated the progress of Christianity. Christ could not have been crucified without the concurrence of its governor; who reported all remarkable occurrences to the Imperial court; and from thence, by means of the necessary connexion, correspondence, and intercourse, that were established between Judea and Rome, and thence to all the world, the crucifixion became more extensively known; whereas, if the Jews had been an independent nation, it would have been a private tragedy, unknown to any but themselves.

Added to this, the peace that subsisted among the nations was also very conducive to the spread of the Christian faith. Our Saviour's ministry had been confined to the land of Judea; but, as the commission of his Apostles extended to all the world, this peace opened a passage to them, throughout the vast Roman empire. So that they were not suspected, questioned, imprisoned, and treated as spies or incendiaries on all the frontiers; which is commonly the case with strangers, in time of war. Obstructions of this kind would have been extremely detrimental to Christianity, by checking it at the beginning of its progres.

The Romans, by the communications which they opened between the conquered provinces, not only united many nations, different in their language, in social intercourse; but, also, by their laws and commerce, as well as by the benign influence of letters and philosophy, civilized their manners. As in that age, literature and scientific knowledge were much cultivated, it was a suitable period for publishing and spreading the Christian religion. Men are always inquisitive in proportion to their knowledge; and as Christianity brought with it revelations and facts which were new and wonderful; improved and refined morality to a degree not known, either to the Jews, or the philosophers; showed the way to obtain the favour of God in this life, and everlasting happiness in the world to come; it could not fail of engaging the attention of the curious, investigation of the learned, and observation of the religious. It could not so easily have

made its way in an age of ignorance and barbarism ; some think the prophet Daniel expressly pointed out this learned and inquisitive age, where he says,—*Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased**.

This was also a period remarkable for candour and liberality among the Heathen. There was no persecution among themselves, they never once disputed the divinity of each other's gods ; nor was any one despised because he worshipped differently from his neighbours. Six hundred nations, says Dionysius Halicarnassus, had taken up their abode in Rome, and every one observed its own peculiar rites†. In the Pantheon, the gods of every nation were installed, and liberty of conscience granted to every one to worship any he pleased. It is very probable, there would have been no objection to Christ being registered among the gods, provided all the others had kept their places. When Dionysius Alexandrinus, Origen's disciple, was brought before Æmilian, and exhorted by him to adore these gods, he replied, that Christians worshipped one God, the maker of all things. Why, true, said Æmilian, you may worship your own God as much as you like, if you will but worship our gods also‡.

2. The miraculous gift of tongues, which was conferred upon the Apostles, on the day of Pentecost, was peculiarly adapted to this enlarged and peaceable state of the Roman empire. For thereby they were qualified to travel among all nations, and address each, in its vernacular tongue, on the important subject of Christianity ; which they could not have done, had they known no language but their own ; for then they must have been under the necessity of learning in the usual way, which is the case in modern missions. How would this one circumstance have embarrassed them, and impeded the progress of religious truth. This wonderful gift, very much helped forward the Gospel ; as it was a key to open the door into every

* Some of the above thoughts are taken from Archbishop Hort's Sermon on Haggai ii. 7.

† Powell's Discourses, p. 156.

‡ Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, Edit. 1683, p. 122.

land, if not into the heart of every person who rightly considered it. It was a standing miracle in the world, and in the Church, while it continued. Plutarch says, Cleopatra was so skilful in the eastern languages, that she could readily answer the Ethiopian, Hebrew, Arabian, Syrian, Median, and Parthian ambassadors who came to her; which made her a remarkable phenomenon in the literary world; the knowledge of these, and ability to speak them, she had acquired by intense application. But the Apostles were instantaneously and miraculously empowered, not merely to understand, but speak various languages; and this was entirely and absolutely from God. When they received the gift of tongues, there were dwelling at Jerusalem, during the festival of Pentecost, Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven, into which, by war and captivity, they had been scattered. And every man, whether Jew or Proselyte, heard them speak in his own language, with propriety, readiness, and perspicuity; when it was well known, that, but the very day before, they understood only the language of their own country.

Having touched upon the gift of tongues, we shall notice, that God was with the Apostles in their ministry, bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will. The miracles they wrought, were effects above the reach of human or natural power, and were produced in attestation of the truth of the doctrine which they advanced. They continually acknowledged that the power by which they performed them was of God, or that they were done in the all-powerful name of Jesus Christ. These were public and notorious, in respect of time, place, and the persons on whom they were wrought; which carried demonstration and sensible evidence along with them, and were mightily instrumental in more extensively spreading the Gospel.

It appears that these miraculous gifts were necessary to answer the end of their preaching; for it is not the method of divine Providence, to have recourse to

supernatural means, unless where natural ones are insufficient for the accomplishment of the intended design. Admitting therefore the necessity, a question will naturally arise, as a writer wisely observes, concerning the continuance or duration of these gifts; how long the state of the Church seems to have required so high a degree of evidence, and at what period of time Christianity seems to have gained a sufficient establishment to support itself, and make proselytes without these.

The power of working miracles was not the sole privilege of the Apostles. Our Saviour commissioned them to *Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature*; with this promise,—*And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover, &c.* This promise, as it respects the preaching and propagating of Christianity, was made only to the Christian converts of the first ages, and, we may suppose, not in an equal degree to all, nor to each of the early ages; but according as the necessities of the Church, and the work of the ministry, might, at different seasons, and in different circumstances, require. That the miraculous powers were in common to all Churches, evidently appears, from the General Epistle of the apostle James, to the twelve Tribes scattered abroad; in which he directed *the sick to send for the Elders of the Church to pray over them*; adding, that *the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.* And to confirm this, St. Paul enumerates the spiritual gifts, distributed to the several members of the Church in his time. *To one is given by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to another faith; to another the gift of healing; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues.*

Thus the power of working miracles not being limited to the Apostles, it is very improbable that it should not be continued in the Church after their times.

The Gospel, it is true, had been widely propagated by them, *their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world*; but, notwithstanding this, they left Christianity, under the pressures and persecutions of the civil power, consequently required every help to support it. Besides, is it probable that miraculous gifts and powers would cease at a time, when heresies were continually springing up to corrupt Faith of Christ, which was therefore chiefly to be preserved by the distinguishing marks of the true Believers?—That they should not subsist in the Church, when false Christs, and false prophets, were working pretended miracles, and lying wonders? I say, is it probable, contrary to the veracity of history, that no real miracles were wrought at that time, to silence and expose the former, from which our Saviour prophesied some danger of being deceived, to the very elect?

Can it be supposed, that miracles, which gave Christianity birth, had through its infancy supported its credit, and published that it came from God, should on a sudden cease; and leave it under the guardianship of the primitive fathers, incapable of producing (when both Jews and Gentiles would expect it, and their predecessors had done,) any extraordinary confirmation of their important commission? Besides, it does not seem consonant with the usual course of divine Providence, which, in bringing about its ends, generally proceeds slowly, and even when they are established, suspends its operations gradually; that the Christian Church should so soon, and suddenly, become destitute of those miraculous powers, which at first laid its foundation, and had hitherto enlarged and supported it. A cessation of these on the exit of the Apostles, would have considerably discouraged their immediate successors, as well as prevented that rapid accession of Believers in future.

Hence it seems evident from Scripture, that a power of working miracles was not appropriated solely to the Apostles; for if the arguments now offered have any weight, it is highly probable that it was not confined to their times. But this, as a matter of fact, is sup-

ported also by the testimony of Ecclesiastical History. The only point then to be settled is, the credibility of this, whether the Fathers of the Church have given us faithful accounts of real miracles wrought in the first ages of Christianity; or handed down such as they themselves forged, or knew to be forged, or too credulously or superstitiously received as genuine.

It is true, these miracles are so strongly and universally attested, that the veracity of History must be but little shaken by the bare making of them the subject of doubt and dispute. But as this has already been done, and the immediate and venerable successors of the Apostles represented, as imposing upon others, or being imposed upon themselves, it will afford the pious Christian pleasure, to trace out any mark of their sincerity and ingenuousness. And such, it is presumed, we must acknowledge their frequent accounts of the decay and revival of miracles at different periods, according as the state of the Church required them. This by no means seems the concession of the forgers of miracles, nor the credulous vouchers of them: the former would not willingly have suffered a decay of them, and that for years together, lest they should sink into disrepute, by being thought unnecessary; but would have filled up those periods with pretended ones.

Again, it appears much in their favour, that what they say on the subject, for the most part, is concerning such miracles as were wrought by the Apostles, and served the very same end of theirs, namely, the propagation and establishment of Christianity. These, of any in the world, seem the worst for impostors to counterfeit, and the most improbable for even incredulous men to believe.

And also what much establishes the credit of these miracles is, that they were not confined to any one particular Church, but are mentioned as subsisting in each; nay, are made the marks of the true one, in the disputes of the Fathers, concerning heresies, throughout the whole world. Now granting the least degree of probability, of any Church attempting the

forging of such miracles, as are in their very nature the most remote from a possibility of being counterfeited; yet it must appear astonishing, and miraculous indeed, that all Churches, how widely soever dispersed, and distantly removed, from frequent communications with one another, should audaciously attempt, and be lucky enough to succeed, with their credulous friends, and their inveterate prying enemies, in such a presumptuous undertaking.

3. The superior excellence of the Christian religion, when compared with all other systems, was one leading cause of its success. We have, in a preceding part of this work, noticed the imperfect state of religion and morality when the Christian lawgiver made his appearance in the world. The legal service of the Jews, which consisted of a great multitude of rites and ceremonies, from their number and nature very difficult to be observed, were *imposed only until the time of the reformation*, or, as the original word signifies, *until the time of setting things right*, that were before out of order, and directing them to their proper scope and end. When our Saviour appeared, to introduce a new dispensation of grace, all things were in a very defective state: the principles and manners of the people were greatly corrupted. But he came to fulfil the ancient types, lay aside the carnal ordinances, throw off human impositions, establish a pure and spiritual worship, and give a system of doctrine, which, by the power of his Spirit, would make a valuable alteration in the Church, and in the World.

The Heathen were involved in thick darkness, and some of the most sagacious and penetrating among them, had lamented the condition they were in, and avowed the necessity of a divine revelation.—Ye may even give over, said Socrates, all hopes of amending men's manners for the future, unless God be pleased to send you some other person to instruct you.—Whatever is set right and as it should be, said Plato, can be so only by the particular interposition of God. Porphyry, though he lived after the coming of Christ,

and had a most inveterate hatred to the Christian revelation, in particular, was, according to his own confession, conscious, that some universal method of delivering men's souls, which no sect of philosophy had found out, was wanting*.

The superior excellence of the Christian religion, to all others, will appear, if we consider, that it embraces all the doctrines, and enforces all the obligations of what is called natural religion; also most completely and satisfactorily supplies all its defects; and more than this cannot be said of any religion. There is not any thing valuable in the writings of the Heathen philosophers, but what is found in Christianity. All the laws of justice, charity, meekness, gratitude, patience, and every other virtue recommended in their writings, are enjoined by Christ and his Apostles, and enforced with higher motives, and more powerful arguments, than the wisest sages among the Heathen possibly could do. The great and pious Richard Baxter, speaking on this subject, says, If there be any good in other religions, (as there is some in all,) it is all contained in the Christian religion, with the addition of much more: there is no truth nor goodness in the religion of the philosophers, the Platonists, the Stoicks, the Pythagorean Bannians in India, the Bonzii in Japan, nor those in Siam, China, Persian, or other parts, nor among the Mahometans nor Jews, which is not contained in the doctrine and religion of the Christians. In a word, this contains the most divine principles, and excellent system of morals, in the whole world.

The religion of Christ, also supplies all the defects of natural religion. Had man continued in his original purity and innocence, the light he then had, would have directed him in all the branches of his duty, without the additional aid of divine revelation; and the disposition and ability of his mind would have continued in perfect harmony with his knowledge. But falling, by transgression, from that state of light and rectitude, rendered human nature so much im-

* See Dr. Clarke's *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion* for some useful information on this point, p. 304—310. *Seventh Edit.*

paired and defective, that it is a very insufficient guide alone, to direct us in all the important concerns of religion.

Christ hath brought to light, rectified, made clear, and settled our notions concerning, those truths which reason was unable to reach, and were before but obscurely and imperfectly revealed. To prevail with his hearers, to submit to his authority, and embrace his religion, he declared that thereby, they would gain assurance in matters of the greatest importance, of which they had before been ignorant, or uncertain; that they would receive such clear light as would give them full satisfaction of mind at present, and conduct them in the right way to eternal life. He said, *I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.* Light, by an easy and elegant metaphor, signifies knowledge, or instruction: because what the former is to the eye, for guiding the body, the latter is to the mind, for informing the judgment, and directing the moral conduct. He therefore who gives instruction to others, may be called a light to them; and he who does this to all mankind, in affairs of the greatest importance, and such as would lead them, if pursued, to never-ending life and felicity, may justly be styled *the light of the world, and the light of life.* As the Sun is to the natural world, the common fountain of light, such is *He*, by his doctrines, and precepts, to the moral world.

The introduction of both moral and natural evil into the world, much embarrassed the Heathen; who were conscious of its existence, but knew not its origin. The vain conceit of Pandora's box, was one of their inventions as a solution of this difficulty. Reason informs us, that intelligent and free beings, ought to pass through a state of probation, before they are unalterably fixed in one of happiness; since otherwife God would not govern them according to their nature. As also it can produce many arguments in vindication of his wisdom, holiness, and goodness, which seem to be impeached by the strong propensities in our con-

tution to objects, that prove the occasions of sin, and by the many natural evils of which we complain, as want, pain, sickness, disappointments, &c. But divine revelation assures us, that this state of things, was not the original appointment of God. Dr. Haweis, in delineating man's primeval state, says, When God had pronounced man good, his soul was the habitation of the Deity. Those passions, now so turbulent and unruly, each ministered in humble subjection before the Lord. Love stood before the altar, and, pouring on the sacred incense, kept up the hallowed flame. Holiness guarded every avenue of the temple, and shut the gates to every vile intruder. Hope lifted up her hands and eyes to Heaven, and showed, by the intenseness of her countenance, where her anchor was fixed. Fear, with reverential awe, bowed down before the sanctuary, where yet no veil had hid the presence of the Deity. Joy told its raptures in hosannahs of never ceasing praise; whilst memory unfolded the volume of divine mercies; and conscience, yet unsullied, beheld, as God's vicegerent, the hallowed service, and gave its approbation as the voice of God. How art thou fallen, son of the morning! Who can reflect on the first beauteous image, and not drop a tear of sorrow!

This awful change took its rise from the wilful transgression of the first Parents of mankind. God answers for himself in Milton.

Man will fall,
He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault?
Whose but his own? Ingrate! he had of me
All he could have: I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
Such I created all th' ethereal Pow'rs;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
Of true allegiance, constand faith and love,
Where only what they *needs must do appear'd;*
Not what they *would?* What praise could they receive:
What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
When will and reaon (reason also his choice,)
Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
Made passive both, had serv'd *necessity,*
Not me? They therefore, as to right belong'd,
So were created, nor can justly accuse
Their Maker, or their making, or their fate:

As if predestination over-rul'd
 Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree,
 Or high fore-knowledge. They themselves decreed
 Their own revolt, not I; if I fore-knew,
 Fore-knowledge had no influence on their fault,
 Which had no less prov'd certain unfore-known.

The eating of the forbidden fruit may to some seem a small offence ; and superficial observers, heterodox Christians, and deistical free-thinkers, have frequently represented it as such. But if we attentively and impartially examine it, we shall find, that thereby was offered the greatest indignity to God ; his authority was trampled upon, the glorious perfections of his justice, truth, and power, despised ; his pure and perfect image in man, which consisted in righteousness and true holiness, was defaced ; and also the glory lost, which man by his service, should have rendered him.

This first offence of Adam contained in it, many sins ; the whole moral law, to which he was subject, was violated ; not only as the authority of the Law-giver was denied, but as all the sins of which he was capable, in his then circumstances, met and conspired therein. Such as, direct disobedience and rebellion against God, the sovereign ruler of the world ; unbelief and wretched credulity, in believing the Father of lies, before God ; luxury and inordinate indulgence of sensual appetite, idolizing and deifying his own belly ; pride, and the lust of ambition, in aspiring after a higher state of knowledge and felicity, than that in which he was placed ; an envious discontent with God, as more an enemy to him than a friend ; enormous ingratitude, when he had but newly received his being, with so many excellent endowments and favours, above all the creatures in the world : to break through all these obligations, and cast off at once all sense of the goodness of his Creator, concern for his honour, awe of his majesty, reverence for his authority, and care of pleasing him ; what could be more hateful and basely disingenuous ! In one word, as Dr. Lightfoot says, he broke all the ten commands at once.

Moreover, it was attended with many aggravating circumstances. It was perfectly voluntarily commit-

ted in a direct manner against God, against the clearest light, and an express confession at the time that it was forbidden; the restraint was but of one tree, while a delicious plenty of the fruits of all the other trees in Eden was allowed him. It was the first human offence, making way for, and giving birth to, the innumerable sins and calamities, that have ever since abounded in the world.

In case man fell, divine mercy had decreed his recovery by Jesus Christ. God had provided an adequate remedy, *fore-ordained before the foundation of the world*; and, when required, promised that *the seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent*, i. e. confound the wisdom, and destroy the power and influence of the Devil. And St. Paul expressly assures us, that all the ill effects of Adam's disobedience, were, in the design of God, counteracted, by the perfect obedience, and atoning death of Christ. *As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. Where sin abounded, in its pernicious fruits, Grace did much more abound, in its salutary effects.* Milton introduces God speaking thus to the Messiah:

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Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will,
Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
Freely vouchsaf'd: once more I will renew
His lap'd pow'r:—yet once more he shall stand
On even ground against his mortal foe,
By me upheld.—Be thou in Adam's room
The head of all mankind, though Adam's son,
As in him perish all men, so in thee,
As from a second root, shall be restor'd
As many as are restor'd, without thee none.
His crimes make guilty all his sons; thy merit
Imputed shall absolve them, who renounce
Their own both righteous, and unrighteous deeds;
And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
Receive new life.

The manner of God's dispensing his mercy and grace to guilty and ruined sinners, is through the atonement of the blood of Christ, and his consequent intercession at his right hand in heaven. This doctrine is fully taught by the Christian revelation; whose Au-

thor said, *he was to shed his blood for many, for the remission of sins**. *He was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification†. Who then shall condemn us? It is Christ that died, and maketh intercession for us‡.* God, who is not only a being supremely good, but a most wise and holy governor, by giving his own Son, not only to become man, and to live on earth, for the promoting of piety and virtue, by his instructions and example, but to die on the cross as an atoning sacrifice, to magnify the violated law, hath tempered the manifestation of his mercy and grace to sinners, with a proportionable discovery of hatred to vice, and love of holiness. Pardonning sin, without a propitiation, would not have demonstrated, so fully, the concern of the divine Being to advance holiness, and discourage sin; nor have afforded such powerful motives to repentance as with it. If we seriously reflect on the agonies which the Redeemer endured, to take sin away, we cannot but be convinced of its great malignity; and stimulated not to abuse the goodness of God so grossly, as to continue practising what he hated more, than he loved the life of his Son.

After our Saviour had entered the garden of *Gethsemane*§, he began to be *sore amazed*, and to be *very heavy*; the original word signifies the most excessive racking grief. St. Luke says, *he was in an agony*, which imports the terrible throes and convulsions of soul under which he laboured. The cause of this agony, was the pressure of his Father's wrath, exacting the price, and inflicting on him the punishment due

* Matt. xxvi. 28.

† Rom. iv. 25.

‡ Rom. viii. 34.

§ The word *Gethsemane* signifies an oil-pres. It was a village situated at the foot of the Mount of Olives, so called, because of the many olives that grew thereon. The Jewish writers call it the Mountain of Unction—Mountain of Light—Mountain of Health, because oil is useful for all these purposes. At this village there were several gardens, into one of which Christ used often to retire, which might belong to some of his followers. It being a solitary place, at a sufficient distance from the city to be out of its noise, was very convenient for meditation and prayer. It was beyond the brook Kidron or Cedron, which word signifies the *black brook*, because its waters were tainted and discoloured with the filth of the city.—In a garden sin first entered into the world; the Messiah was first promised; he endured his agony; and was buried: which considerations should make such places peculiarly acceptable to Christians, and, when walking there, these are proper subjects for meditation.

for the sins of mankind ; upon whom, if it had been executed, it would have crushed and sunk them into hell. The agony made him sweat, as it were *great drops of blood* ; though the air was so cold, that probably it congealed as soon as the flame within had forced it through his pores.

It is strange that any should deny, that Christ bore the wrath of God, and made satisfaction for the sins of men. Why then was he in such an agony, when no man's hand was upon him, when he had no stings of conscience to torment, nor irregular appetites to disturb him ? What then was the cause of his distress, of *his strong cries and tears* ? Heathens have died with courage, Christians with triumph : and whence is it that Christ, who was filled with the Holy Ghost, should be filled with such distress, sorrow, and agony, though he was the Prince of peace and life, the Lord of glory ? When shall we have some good reasons for this, assigned by those, who denied that Christ endured the wrath of God, and made a real and full satisfaction for the sins of men ? But if he did this, as most certainly he did, it is no wonder he was in such an agony.

If it be objected, Where is the justice of punishing the innocent, that the guilty may escape ? I answer, there is no injustice, in permitting those evils to fall upon the innocent, which to the guilty are punishments of sin, when important ends of the divine government are thereby answered ; when the party suffering, voluntarily submits to those evils, and even they procure him the highest happiness and reward : and this is the Scripture account of the affair. *No man took our Saviour's life from him*, but he freely and willingly laid it down of himself*. And because *he humbled himself, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross*, *God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name*† ; and a power to give eternal life to as many as he had given him‡.—This is the distinguishing doctrine of the Christian religion, and could not have been known but by a divine revelation.

* John x. 18.

† Phil. ii. 8, 9.

‡ John xvii. 2.

Revelation assures us, that divine justice being satisfied by this atonement for sin, God's pardoning mercy extends to all sinners, on their repentance and believing in Christ. The first covenant did not admit of repentance, neither promised any thing but to perfect obedience. The light of Reason teaches us, that God is essentially good; but that does not infer he will forgive sin; which clemency has its rise in the benignity of his nature, but does not flow from thence by necessity; yet is the free act of his own will, and the work of his sovereign grace and pleasure. And supposing it could assure us of forgiveness on repentance, yet it cannot teach us, how far that remission shall reach, either as to persons or their offences; whether to great sins, repeated after vows and resolutions to reform, or those which have been productive of mischievous consequences to the world, beyond the power of the transgressors to repair, and especially where a long life has been wasted in the service of sin and satan. Whether sinners, guilty of greater or less crimes, though real penitents, shall receive pardon, reason is silent, and cannot give a distinct and entirely satisfying answer.

That it assures us of the forgiveness of all sins, on sincere repentance, is therefore an invaluable part of the Christian scheme, and admirably adapted to the sinful and guilty state of fallen men. That alone against the Holy Ghost being excepted and excluded; because it renders repentance impossible, destroying all the Gospel motives to it, by ascribing to the Devil and his angels, the fullest external evidence of its truth, namely, the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit. *Repent, and ye shall receive the remission sins**. *Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out†*. True evangelical repentance, according to the Scripture account thereof, consists in a change of the mind, accompanied with correspondent works in the life. In the New Testament it is expressed by the Greek word *metanoia*, which signifies a change of the mind from folly to wisdom, or from evil to good; and therefore im-

* Acts ii. 38.

† Acts iii. 19.

plies reflection, conviction, compunction, and amendment.

But, though man is the subject of repentance, he cannot produce this change of disposition in himself; neither can it be produced by another until he yield thereto. As the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world; as the Son assumed our entire nature, and, by the merit of his death, sacrifice, and satisfaction, procured salvation for us; so likewise, was the Holy Spirit appointed, to perform his part in the glorious undertaking: to enlighten the human understanding, awaken the conscience, renew the will, remove prejudice against religion and piety, draw the affections from the fallacious, unsatisfying objects of this world, excite desires in the heart after divine things, and empower the soul to engage in the service of God, according to his revealed will. Without the assistance of this Spirit, man has no knowledge of his state and danger, nor any desire, or ability, to do the will of God. *O Lord*, says Jeremiah, *I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps**. Again; *Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil†*. What our Saviour says, corroborates and establishes this.—*Nevertheless, I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness and judgment‡*. Here we have the agent, the Holy Spirit; the act, he will reprove; the object, the world; the subject matter, of sin, righteousness, and judgment. The original word ἐλέγει, translated *reprove*, signifies in this place, that the Spirit, by uncontrollable argument, or undeniable evidence, will so convince, as to silence the adversaries, that they can make no objection. The Greek word παράκλητος, here rendered *Comforter*, properly signifies, he will act the part of an

* Jer. x. 23.

† Jer. xiii. 23.

* John xvi. 7, 8.

Advocate, whose office it is, to convince of the wrong maintained. By the *world* is meant, both Jews and Gentiles, who, as contradistinguished from the Christian Church, opposed the Gospel. By *sin*, that of unbelief, not believing Jesus to be the Son of God, the promised Messiah, and only Saviour of mankind. By *righteousness*, that of Christ, both personal and mediatorial; that he was no impostor, nor deceiver, but holy in himself, and hath brought in an everlasting righteousness, for the justification of the guilty, and sanctification of the unholy. And by *judgment*, the condemnation and overthrow of the Devil, i. e. Christ, according to the ancient promise, *having bruised the serpent's head*, spoiled principalities and powers, and destroyed him that had the power of death.---The Holy Spirit then must operate upon the minds of men, to convince them of their sin and misery, also of the complete remedy provided for them in the Gospel.

Repentance, though absolutely necessary, is not a state of salvation, but preparatory thereto:—When St. Paul had preached *repentance toward God*, and his doctrine had made effect, he proceeded to that of *faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ*. God, against whom man has sinned, is the object of the one, and Christ, who is the Redeemer and Saviour, is the object of the other. These two doctrines were joined together in Christ's ministry, and are what he commanded his Disciples to teach; which they accordingly did, endeavouring, first to bring men to a sense of sin, then, encouraging them to believe in Christ. The Apostle Paul, without respect of persons, testified these doctrines, both to Jews and Greeks. And if it is right to direct a sick person to a skilful physician; it must be likewise to point a sinner, filled with penitential sorrow, to the only and all-sufficient Saviour; whose invitation to such is, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest*. Salvation is suspended while unbelief predominates; but when a penitent sinner, aided by the Spirit of truth, embraces Christ by a lively faith, he is saved from condemnation, and has peace with God. From a child of wrath, he becomes

reconciled to the Father through the blood of his Son ; is translated, from the bondage of sin and satan, into the glorious liberty of the Gospel ; from being a worker of iniquity, he is sweetly drawn, by redeeming love, to the practice of piety and virtue. Thus is he admitted into the favour of God, adopted into his family, and, through the merits of Christ, becomes entitled to all the privileges and blessings of the new covenant, in time, and to everlasting ages.

Hence by grace through faith, which is of the operation of God, all real Christians are saved. Such in the language of the Bible, are said to be in Christ. They have *redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace.* They are implanted or ingrafted into him, which is represented by a vine and its branches. *I am the vine, says Christ; and ye are the branches : he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit : for without me ye can do nothing.* He is spoken of as dwelling in Believers, for says the Apostle, *Christ in you the hope of glory ;* and again, is said to dwell in their hearts by faith. He dwelleth in them by his sanctifying spirit, and they live in him by faith, as their head of influence. Hence, says the same Apostle, *Your life is hid with Christ in God, and when Christ who is your life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.* St. John says, *Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ ; whose blood cleanseth us from all sin : Christians are complete in him.*

The Christian revelation furnishes us with express promises of divine assistance, to enable us, in this state of trial, to hold fast faith and a good conscience, which, considering the exigency of our condition, are invaluable. We can scarcely be so vain as to imagine, that we are of ourselves sufficient to perform the duties of religion, withstand our spiritual enemies, and bear up under the complicated ills of life. By our own natural strength, we are not able faithfully to discharge any duty, and, to confederate persons, apprehensive of the excellence, and obligations of piety and virtue,

in all their branches, there is nothing so discouraging as a consciousness of their weakness, and the difficulty they find from within, to surmount temptations, and act with steadiness in conformity to divine precepts, and the convictions of their own mind; yet nothing can be more encouraging to those, than the assurance of almighty assistance.

God hath promised his Holy Spirit, to them that ask him; that thereby they may walk in his statutes, keep his judgments, and do them: for our Lord, a little before his departure, said, that he would not leave his Disciples comfortless, but send another Comforter to abide with them for ever. The Apostle James also says, *If any man lack wisdom, (or, by parity of reason, any other spiritual gift,) let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.* These clear and express promises are powerful motives to holiness, obedience, and perseverance therein, and stimulate Christians to work out their own salvation. By his grace, if they devoutly ask, and diligently concur with his will, they shall be effectually supported, against all temptation and difficulties; for what can be too hard to perform, too powerful to resist, and too severe to suffer, when God is present, and assists them by his Spirit. *I can do all things, says St. Paul, through Christ who strengtheneth me.*

How desirable the assurance, that God, who is omnipresent, and knows our frame, is tenderly concerned for our perfection and happiness; and will proportion our strength to our trials. *As thy days, so shall thy strength be. God is faithful, who will not suffer pious persons to be tempted above that they are able; but will with every temptation also make a way to escape, that they may be able to bear it.* He will make every trial contribute to the establishment of their piety and holiness, and the increase of their future happiness. *Their light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.* While thus encouraged and supported, *strong in the Lord, and the power of his might,* no temptation can stand against them.—Reason, though it convinces

us we need this aid, can give us no assurance of it. Some indeed of the Heathen philosophers comforted their disciples, with the hope of divine assistance : Never, says Cicero, was a man made truly good, without some divine afflatus, or quickening influence : but they had no promise of this, to encourage or succeed their endeavours.

It is a great excellence in the Christian revelation, that it not only discovers to us, those general principles of the divine perfections, but places, in the clearest light, the important doctrine of providence, and gives it the sanction of the most express authority. Reason teaches this, but not equal to the account we have thereof in the Gospel ; which fully states, and shows, that God's manner of exercising it, is perfectly consistent with the liberty of moral agents. The sacred writings inform us, that God loves holiness, hates vice, and will finally make the righteous happy, and the wicked miserable ; but that he orders the particular circumstances of all, especially the pious, after a manner most conducive to their greatest happiness. The evils of life are not merely the result of the present constitution of things, established by God for wise ends, but his fatherly chastisements, designed for our amendment, or as trials, to exercise and advance our souls in holiness. The smallest event is not exempted from his control, since *a sparrow falls not to the ground without his notice* : and by him *the very hairs of our heads are all numbered*. This doctrine is wisely calculated to comfort the righteous, amidst the folly, weakness, and uncertainty, that inseparably attend the present state. It raises them above all temptation, frees them from perplexities, encourages them to discharge their duty, in its utmost extent--in whatever station of life they may be placed ; calms their minds amidst the ruffling storms of life, and, by grace, enables them to possess their souls in patience, until they enter the land of rest and peace.

It is to the Gospel we owe the full discovery of the resurrection, both of the just and the unjust. The bodies of God's righteous servants shall be raised glorious,

powerful, spiritual, and immortal ; and be in a far greater degree subservient to the nature, powers, and happy state of their souls, than they were before. Christians are assured, that if now they govern their bodies, mortify their irregular appetites and passions, regulate the gratifications of sense, in a constant subordination to the purity, perfection, and happiness of the mind, they shall be recompensed in kind, as well as degree, receiving, at the Last Day, bodies for ever exempt from all these infirmities, and sufferings, which they now endure. Bodies, that by the pleasures of sight, harmony, beauty, and perfect activity, shall contribute in a far higher degree to the joy of the mind, than the greatest sensual enjoyments can now do to our satisfaction, or the greatest bodily sufferings, for the cause of religion, to our uneasiness. Immortal health, unblemished beauty, sprightly vigour, glorious scenes to entertain the sight, and celestial harmony to ravish the ears, are encouragements which grosser minds are capable of apprehending, and being influenced by. This great truth, reason could not discover, though, on the declaration and promise of God, and the sensible proof of its certainty, and desirableness, in the resurrection and glory of our Lord and Saviour, it assents thereto.—The ancient Philosophers thought a resurrection impossible ; hence St. Paul said, in the presence of Agrippa, *Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead ?* But herein, *they erred, not knowing the Scriptures,* which assert this, *neither knew they the power of God,* which can effect it. He hath expressly promised this, and can as easily raise our bodies, as he made them at first ; and a re-union with them, when they have their new qualities, will be as advantageous to our souls, as an everlasting contact, in their present state, would be unhappy.

And the Gospel reveals, the perfect happiness of the saints, and the complete misery of sinners, in the future state. The Heathen had some imperfect notions of this kind ; they did not imagine that death would be an utter extinction of their being, but that their

fouls would survive their bodies, and pass into some other regions ; for many vain and irrational things are said by them, concerning the entertainments of the Elysian Fields, and the punishments of Tartarus. They had no just sentiments concerning either the nature of the heavenly blessedness, or the torments of hell : these can be learned only from supernatural revelation. It is to Jesus, *who hath brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel*, that we are indebted for the true knowledge of the future state of recompences. He assures us, that if we approve ourselves faithful, during this short state of trial, we shall be received into glory, confirmed in holiness and happiness, and never more be in danger of sin, or suffering. *Blessed are the pure in heart : for they shall see God. The righteous shall enter into life eternal.* In the next state, that which is perfect shall come, and that which is in part shall be done away. There the faithful servants of God are in possession of that inheritance, which is *incorruptible, undefiled, and fadeth not away.*

The happiness of the future state is above our present comprehension ; metaphorical terms are used, and images taken from material and earthly objects, to represent it to us ; it being difficult, while our souls are clothed with flesh, to conceive of heavenly things otherwise than by these. It is set forth as consisting in the full enjoyment of the infinitely great, and all-sufficient God ; as an open vision of Christ in his glory, and the most entire likeness to him, that we can possibly be exalted to ; free from all sin, perfect in holiness, and resembling his glorified body, in our bodies. In short, it is spoken of, as entering into peace, and the joy of our Lord ; as consisting of such excellencies, and noble pleasures, as exalt human nature, and raise its dignity equal to its delights.

The future state of those who, to the last, remain impenitent, is revealed as infallibly certain and inexplicably miserable. *It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this the judgment. Every one shall be judged according to that he has done in the body.* The wicked

shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord. The punishment will be adequate to their crimes, and from which there will be no redemption; it is *everlasting*, without any hope of deliverance. In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, it is said, that between those in heaven, and those in hell, there is *a great gulf fixed*, and no passing from the one to the other. The wicked, at death, enter into this unavoidable and extreme misery, which the sacred Scriptures set forth under the most dreadful images, that can awaken, or alarm the human mind. In hell, *the worm of conscience dieth not, and the fire of wrath, unmixed with mercy, will never be quenched.* There will be in the regions of the damned *weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth*, without so much as one glimpe of light to cheer them in that *outer darkness*, or one beam of hope to flatter them with a deliverance. It would be well, if those, who endeavour to enervate, and take away the force of these very awful accounts, would act more worthy their rational powers, in seeking, by a true and timely repentance, and *fleeing for refuge to lay hold on the hope* the Gospel *sets before them*, to avoid the infinite torments it threatens.—These are some of the important doctrines of the Christian religion, and, when delivered by the Apostles, and their immediate successors, would, by the blessing of God, produce very serious and happy effects upon candid and thoughtful persons, both Jews and Gentiles.

4. Among the causes of the success of Christianity, must be placed the peculiar character of the Apostles. Our Saviour, having to establish a kingdom in the world, made choice of a few persons to assist in this important undertaking; but did not go to the schools of the Prophets, (such as they were then,) nor to those of the Rabbis, to select men versed in the arts of reasoning and oratory, and who could dispute and persuade mankind out of their senses, and into the belief of sensible things, (or things proper to be the objects of sense,) that they had neither seen nor heard. He did not go to the

camp nor to the castle, to find out well-disciplined or courageous men, who were qualified for a bold encounter, could face an enemy in the field, or venture upon an extraordinary enterprize: nor did he go to the High-Priest's palace, nor to the Roman Hall, to seek the statesmen, and those who were skilled in politics, and in planning and executing a wide political scheme: neither did he go to the cities, to look for the polite and accomplished, nor those who were acquainted with traffic and commerce, remittances and accounts: the more plain, simple, undisguised, and undesigning people were better fitted for his purpose; especially as they were the more sincere. He walked into the country, and picked up those who (inured to hard labour, and great fatigue, with their nets, ropes, and boats, in the business of fishing,) were in the habit of indulging hope and exercising patience, and undertook to make them fishers of men. He called one indeed from the tax-office, or the receipt of custom; but rather to disburse than increase what he had gained, and to communicate a treasure that cost him nothing. Having called these men, their art, skill, and business, were to fulfil the angel's song, founded forth at their Master's birth; to raise *glory to God in the highest*, diffuse *peace on earth*, and disseminate *good will among men**.

Though all the Apostles, (excepting St. Paul,) were persons of no polite education, yet they were not without good understanding, and unquestionably possessed genuine piety. They had been educated Jews, and were of the Jewish nation; and could not embrace the faith of Christ, till they had laid aside their religious prejudices. Without a thorough conviction that he was the promised Meffiah, and a supreme love to him, they would not have continued their profession of the faith to the end of their days; but when exposed to reproach, persecution, nakedness, hunger, imprisonment, and death, would have swerved therefrom. After the day of Pentecost, their piety was uniform and deep. This was necessary, not only for

* Reynolds's Three Letters to the Deist, p. 226—228.

their own stability and comfort, but, without it, they could not have instructed others in the nature and way of salvation. Had their views of the Christian system been merely speculative, or theoretic, and could they not have traced its converting energy, and transforming power on their own hearts, their interest in its diffusion would not have been so sensibly felt, nor would they have urged it so affectionately and earnestly upon others, neither so firmly supported it in the time of danger and suffering.

They preached to others, not only what they dispassionately believed to be true, and free from error and absurdity, but experimentally and powerfully knew so to be. The eternal Logos was *manifested in the flesh*, whom they not only *saw*; but *handled*: he revealed himself to them, as he did not to the world; and they bore *witness* to the truth, as it is in him. On being interrogated, *Whom say ye that I am?* the Apostle of the circumcision replied, *Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God*. Our Saviour put a high encomium on this admirable confession of his faith, saying, *Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona: for flesh and blood (that is, his own reason, or any natural power whatsoever,) hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven*. The great Apostle of the Gentiles, declares, in strong language, his faith in Christ, and experimental piety. *This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. What things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ, yea doubtless, I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung that I may win Christ. I am crucified with Christ: Nevertheless, I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me*. These important declarations give us to see, that their piety was real, inward, operative, and very considerable. They understood the doctrines Christ had taught them, trusted in him according to their direction, and

were saved. This religious experience is essentially necessary to the Gospel ministry:—he who is to be a guide to others, must himself see; for, *if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.* How can he, who does not assuredly know that Jesus hath saved him from his sins, preach Christ to others, or urge them to seek and secure what himself has not found? Or how can he instruct them in the way to salvation, when he never trod the hallowed path? Or how can he describe the sweetnes of divine mercy, when he never tasted thereof? He who himself has found the way of life, peace, and love, can say to humble and sincere inquirers, *Be followers of me, as I am of Christ:*—and it is not only safe but pleasant following him, who is solicitous for his own, as well as the salvation of others. A Christian minister is to be *an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.*

Feeling the lively influences of the grace of God, on their own hearts, the Apostles were zealous in the discharge of their important duty. As their religion was the supreme love of Christ, their zeal was the fervour of that affection, animating them in their ministerial labours. Zeal is a vigorous, earnest, and vehement affection of the mind*, says a writer, which is good or evil, according to the principle from, and the end to which it is exercised. Another says, it is a mixed affection of grief and anger, proceeding from love; for what a man earnestly loveth, he is anxious to see honoured, and grieved when it is not. When exercised upon wrng objects, it may be great, but cannot be good; nay, the higher it rises, the worse it is; as is evident from the practices of heretics and fanatics; who, though they compass sea and land to make proselytes, render them twofold more the children of hell than ever. But when exercised upon right objects, and not proportioned to their magnitude and importance, it is then cold and lukewarm, as were the Laodicean Christians; when too hot, it

* Zeal comes from the Greek word Ζηλος, derived from ζεω, which signifies to be fervent, or hot as fire.

assumes the name of enthusiasm, fanaticism, or superstition. When rightly tempered and directed, it is an excellent and useful qualification, and what every minister of the Gospel should have.

Well-tempered zeal is found a distinguishing trait in the character of the first Preachers of Christianity. Their enemies charged them with madness and distraction, for preaching as they did, and imputed their fervour, in the discharge of their office, to enthusiasm. St. Paul replies, *Whether we be besides ourselves, in zealously recommending Christ to the attention and ardent affection of sinners, so as to be transported beyond ourselves, it is to God : or whether we be sober, calm in our reasonings, and dealing much in serious rational argumentation, it is for your cause or sakes. For the love of Christ constraineth,* or puts a pleasing force upon us, to be zealous for his glory and interest in the world ; bearing us on with a strong, steady, prevailing influence, like that of the winds and tides when wafting a vessel to its destined harbour ; *while we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead : and that he died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again.*

The conversion, edification, and eternal salvation of men, are the chief things that ministers of Christ should have in view ; and, to the performance thereof, no methods, that have a tendency to answer those important purposes, ought by them to be left untried. That these valuable ends may be attained, they are to urge every proper motive, and address every passion of the human mind ; they are to endeavour to draw their hearers to the practice of their duty, by the words of love and the bands of a man ; but when these prove ineffectual, and the arguments drawn from the condescending mercy of God, and the amazing love of the Redeemer, are slighted and despised, they must then have recourse to considerations of a more awful and awaking nature. When their calm reasonings are rejected, and the motives addressed to the more delightful affections of the mind, such as hope, love, joy,

and gratitude, prove unsuccessful, then they must urge such things as are calculated to excite men's fears. With regard to this plan of proceeding, they have the Apostles of Christ for their examples. They considered themselves as men, whose business it was *to win souls*, expecting to give an account to God; and, therefore, were solicitous to urge every thing that might serve as a motive to engage those, to whom they preached and wrote, to a serious care about their spiritual and eternal welfare. What a variety of arguments do we find them to have used for this purpose. With what earnestness did St. Paul beseech the Christians at Rome, *by the mercies of God, to present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable to God, which was their reasonable service.* In what a lively and affecting view did he at other times represent the *love of Christ*, that it might constrain men to suitable returns of love and obedience. How does he set forth the privileges of the Saints, in order to engage sinners to get a share in them. And in what an attracting light does he propose the glory and happiness of those, who, by a sincere and constant course of genuine piety, are preparing for the heavenly state. But, at other times, he endeavours to impress men's hearts by awfully proclaiming, that *the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men*; that *indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish*, shall be the portion of *every soul of man that doeth evil*; and he enforces a due regard to religion, by an argument drawn from the solemn proceedings of the last judgment.—*Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men.*

Christ was the constant, delightful, and ennobling theme of the ministry of the Apostles. They preached him prophetically, as the great object of prophecy; typically, as exhibited in the types, shadows, and sacrifices of the ceremonial law; historically, as recorded by the four Evangelists; doctrinally, as set forth in their Epistles; experimentally, as formed in the heart of a true believer; and practically, that Christians should walk as Christ also walked. St. Paul, who

made him the chief subject of his study and preaching, in his Epistle to the Christians at Corinth, says, *I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.* And again, *we preach not ourselves,* (as deriving our authority from no other source; as lords over God's heritage; publishing our own private notions and opinions for the word and will of God; prostituting this divine ordinance for filthy lucre; making it the vehicle of pride and vanity, or the means of ostentation and popular applause,)—but *Christ Jesus the Lord,* as the chief matter, and his interest and glory as the ultimate end of our ministry,—*and ourselves your servants for Jesus's sake;* ready, from a sincere and established attachment to him, by all possible and proper means, to promote your best interests, even your present and eternal salvation; and if we have but the satisfaction of serving you in this matter, we desire no more.—Here all ministers of the Gospel are presented with an example, worthy of both their attention and imitation. Would they not insist on their own prerogatives and powers, but direct the principal esteem and affection of their people, from themselves, to Christ the Head and Lord of the Church; and were their titles, (which, however innocent in themselves, sacred when first used, and almost unhallowed by divisions about them,) explained by that of servants of the Churches for Jesus's sake, the ends of the ministry might be more effectually and happily promoted.

Dr. South, in one of his sermons, has some very pertinent thoughts on preaching Christ; some of which are as follow: Christ hath a fourfold relation to preaching,—1. He is the text; and all preaching beside Christ, is beside the text; therefore, keep to your text. 2. Christ is the very foundation and subject-matter of preaching; and all preaching without him, is building castles in the air. 3. Christ is the life and soul of preaching; and preaching without him, is like a body without life and spirit. 4. Christ is the great end of preaching; which is to manifest his glory; and, when he is not preached, the great end of the ministry is

lost.—These remarks should always be kept in view. How awful a thing it is, when a minister neglects or is ashamed of his Master; so far forgets his commission, as to leave him out of his studies and sermons, and takes Plato, Socrates, Zeno, Seneca, Epictetus, Tully, Cicero, or Demosthenes, for his pattern, rather than the apostle Paul!

Is Christ the abler teacher, or the schools?
If Christ, then why resort at every turn
To Athens or to Rome, for wisdom short
Of man's occasions, when in him reside
Grace, knowledge, comfort—an unfathomed store?
How oft, when Paul has served us with a text,
Has Epictetus, Plato, Tully, preached! COWPER.

Did Augustin throw aside his beloved Cicero, because he could not find the name of Christ in his writings! And shall any minister of the Gospel, reckon that a burthen, to which the Apostle so diligently attended, and esteemed so distinguishing a favour, namely, *to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ?* Surely it should be the constant study, supreme delight, and invariable practice of the ambassadors of Christ, to preach him, in his person, dignity, excellencies, offices, and benefits; and they should never feel satisfied, unless their labours be crowned with success, and their hearers give him their hearts.

The Apostles were very cautious in their manner of preaching Christ; particularly St. Paul mentions this, in direct and impressive terms, to the Christians at Corinth. *And I, brethren, says he, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. And my speech, and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.* In his preaching, he did not avail himself of the embellishments of language, affect eloquent expressions, enter into metaphysical disquisitions, and show a variety of learning, that he might, by appearing a profound linguist, and sagacious philosopher, gratify their curiosity, and

gain their applause. Being a great scholar ; a thorough master of the Jewish erudition, and well acquainted with the writings of the Philosophers and Poets, he was capable of doing this ; but declined a pompous manner of preaching Christ. Being persuaded of the transcendent excellence of his subject, and aiming to preach in a manner conducive to the salvation of souls, he made use of great plainness of speech, and left the effect to God. He studiously avoided the fascinating charms of oratory, and philosophical arguments, that the faith of Christians might not seem to have been obtained by human wisdom, eloquence, skill, and arts of men, but by the power of God, and that it might rest entirely on that foundation. And indeed, divine truths need not the meretricious ornaments of style, to render them more engaging, but shine best in their own native beauty and lustre.

The plain nervous style of Dr. South, Dr. Bates, or Mr. John Howe ; and, for elegance, Dean Young, or Mr. Seed, are admirable models for imitation ; but the most excellent, for every Gospel preacher, is the first Epistle of St. John. Archbishop Usher used to say, it will take all our learning to make things plain. If this were used for that purpose, it would be the handmaid of religion, and useful to mankind. When we talk of learning, says a Clergyman of the Church of England, we surely mean something more than the knowledge of words, that is, of sounds, and the ideas of things to which they correspond ; for even ideots will learn these : and, to know that *Equus* in Latin, and *Ιππος* in Greek, signifies the same as *Horse* in English, is not what we mean by *Learning* ; for Wisdom is always implied in the term.—True ; and if languages were acquired to get at the knowledge of things, and used to make those plain, without arrogance and ostentation, which mislead the mind, and darken the understanding, learned men would be oracles of wisdom, and lights of the world.

The Apostles endeavoured to inform themselves of the moral characters of their hearers, as also of their

predilection for, or prejudice against the Christian system, and adapted their discourses accordingly. They addressed the understanding and judgment, and particularly applied suitable truths to the state of their consciences, that they might awaken them to a sense of their danger, and so prepare their hearts for the reception of divine mercy. For instance, when St. Paul was before Felix, his preaching was suited to his moral character. The two vices, of which this Heathen governor was guilty, were injustice and intemperance ; and the Apostle *reasoned on righteousness, temperance, and judgment* ; put him in mind of another tribunal, more impartial and dreadful, before which he himself must one day stand, and be judged ; than which, no doctrine could be more proper, nor better calculated to reform him. Skilfully and prudently accommodating doctrines to the various exigencies of the hearers, preaching the terrors of the law to some, and the comforts of the Gospel to others, as their different cases require, is an excellent method, and shows a man to be an able minister of the New Testament, well instructed for the kingdom of God. *Rightly to divide the word of truth*, is to give every text its proper meaning, every truth its due weight, every person the proper portion suited to his case ; and, as becomes the oracles of God, with plainness, perspicuity, humility, gravity, meekness, gentleness, fervour, boldness ; aiming in all things at the pleasing of God, and profiting men. Such preaching as this, will not be useless ; but likely, both *to save themselves, and those that hear them.*

We have, in considering the success of the Gospel, seen, that the Apostles indulged not in ease and sloth, but were persons of great diligence, exertion, patience, and perseverance, in the discharge of their ministerial function. They were labourers, not loiterers, sincere and indefatigable, travelling from place to place, preaching, where they could get a people to hear them, in public places, or private houses, at the expence of worldly comforts, frequently loaded with reproach, and in the face of persecution and death. A

modern anonymous poetic writer, in his admirable defence of missionaries, says,

Let worldly men
 The cause and combatants contemptuous scorn,
 And call fanatics them, who hazard health,
 And life, in testifying of the truth,
 Who joy and glory in the cross of Christ!
 What were the Galilean fishermen
 But messengers commissioned to announce
 The RESURRECTION and the LIFE TO COME?
 They too, though cloath'd with power of mighty works
 Miraculous, were oft receiv'd with scorn;
 Oft did their word fall powerless, though enforc'd
 By deeds that mark'd Omnipotence their friend.
 But when their efforts fail'd, unweariedly
 They onward went, rejoicing in their course.*

Their object was, to convert souls to Christ, to accomplish which, they were willing to *spend and be spent*.

And, to finish the character of the first preachers of the Gospel, though, in the faithful discharge of their office, they employed, to the utmost, their reason, grace, and ministerial gifts, yet, on this ground only, did they not expect success, but from the effectual blessing of God. St. Paul, by his masterly reasoning, convinced both Jews and Heathens of the truth of the Christian religion, also planted Churches; and Apollos, with the gift imparted to him, watered them; but God, by his blessing, *gave the increase*. The celebrated philosopher, Bonnet, of Geneva, has beautifully and convincingly set forth this important point. Whence has it happened, says he, that, in less than half a century, so many, and different sects and nations, have embraced the new doctrine? How is *this seed of mustard become a great tree?* And how has this tree over-shadowed such immense countries? I know that, in general, men are not enemies to severity of doctrine in point of morals, because it supposes an uncommon effort of mind, and because men have a natural taste for perfection; not that they always seek after it; but are fond of it at least in speculation. A voluntary poverty, a great disinterestedness, and a painful and laborious life, easily attract the attention and esteem of men. They are

* *The Sabbath; a Poem.* The Second Edition, p. 48.

very ready to admire all this, provided you do not oblige them to the practice thereof. If, therefore, this new doctrine published to the world had been purely speculative, I can easily conceive that it might have gained the esteem, and even admiration, of some people. They would have viewed it in the light of a new kind of philosophy; and those who professed it, might have appeared to them sages of a very peculiar stamp.—But this doctrine is not merely speculative, it is chiefly practical, in the strictest and most literal sense of the word. It is the most elevated kind of practical heroism; it enjoins an entire self-denial, combats every passion, regulates every affection, checks every desire, requires a total surrender of our hearts to the love of God and of our neighbour, demands continual and great sacrifices; and promises no other rewards, than those which the eye cannot see, and which the hand cannot feel.—That the charms of eloquence, the attractions of riches, the splendour of dignities, and the influence of power, may give credit to a doctrine, and gain it many proselytes, I can easily conceive. But the doctrine of the *crucified Saviour* is taught by men void of art, and in the lowest circumstances, whose eloquence consists more in things than in words; by men who preach doctrines opposite to the most received opinions; by men of the lowest class, and who hold out to their disciples no other expectations in this life, than sufferings, tortures, and the cross; and yet these are they who triumph over flesh and blood, and convert the universe.—The effect was prodigious, rapid, permanent,—and exists to this day. I can discover no natural cause whereby it is produced, and yet one there must be, and that not inconsiderable: Where then is this cause? *In the name of the crucified man, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the blind see, the dead are raised.* I am no longer at a loss; every difficulty vanishes; the problem is solved; the legislator of nature has spoken; nations have heard him; the universe has acknowledged its master. He who could see in the mustard-seed the lofty tree, was then the Messenger of that God who hath chosen

the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.*

Having entered so largely on the character of the Apostles, the limits of this work will not allow us to enter on that of their immediate successors. Let the Reader, who has leisure and inclination, peruse the works of the primitive Fathers, that have come down to us; also the first volume of Dupin's History of Ecclesiastical Writers, where he will meet with ample satisfaction. Daille, though severe, yet, in his *Right use of the Fathers*, (cap. I.) acknowledges, That those times which came nearest to the Apostles, were necessarily the purest, and least subject to suspicion of corruptions either in Doctrine, Manners, or Christian Discipline; it being reasonable to believe, that if any corruptions have crept into the Church, it must have been by degrees, as it happens in all other things. Great indeed must have been their piety, and diligence in the ministry, to have carried on the glorious work begun by their Predecessors; whose commendatory letters to the Churches, and to the world, were the souls converted by their instrumentality, *written, not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, as was the Law at Mount Sinai, but in the fleshly tables of the heart.* Souls converted from error to truth, their own righteousness to Christ, and sin to holiness, are a minister's strongest recommendation, and a decisive proof of a divine call to the work in which he is engaged, and that he *has not run before he was sent.* Success will certainly attend the labours of those, whom the *Holy Ghost hath made overseers of the flock;* and who *have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth, commanding themselves to every man's conscience in the fight of God.*

5. The persecution, first from the Jews, then from the Heathen, so far from impeding, much facilitated

* Bonnet's Philosophical and Critical Inquiries concerning Christianity.
p. 245—247.

the progress of the Gospel. It was a trial of the reality and efficacy of the Christian religion; and had a direct tendency to unite Christians together, and keep them vigilant and holy; as well as to scatter them, who, wherever they went, published their faith, and elucidated its excellent precepts in their lives. Among the Heathen, it was thought a proof of pusillanimity, if an injury was not resented. The Jewish Church could not, with any good grace, glory in tribulation, for the honour of God and the law, or for the sake of their religion. They were, it is true, often great sufferers, not for their piety, but usually for their sins, particularly that of idolatry. But the history of the Apostles, and succeeding ages, contains many relations of the sufferings of Christians, for the honour of Christ, and the furtherance of his religion.

Though the Gospel breathes nothing but love, meekness, gentleness, and goodness, towards men; yet both unbelieving Jews and Gentiles were so prejudiced, that they rejected it with scorn, and opposed it with violence. The former persecuted our Lord himself, *the Author and finisher of our faith*, with implacable rage and malice, and that by a death the most ignominious and painful. Before he left the world, the Disciples were assured, by their divine Master, that they were to expect no better treatment. *If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you.* And in particular he informed them, that these persecutions would be the consequence of their preaching the Gospel; nay, that they would be begun under the pretence of extraordinary zeal for God and preservation of his service. The fulfilment of this we have already related; and St. Paul says of the Apostles in general, *I think that God hath set forth us the Apostles last, as it were appointed to death. For we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.*

The Churches they planted were persecuted also. The Christians in Judea, immediately on receiving the Gospel, suffered great afflictions. *But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illumined*

nated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions ; partly whilst ye were made a gazing-stock, both by reproaches and afflictions ; and partly whilst ye became companions of them that were so used. For ye had compassion of me in my bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance. The converts of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, to whom St. Peter wrote both his Epistles, were sufferers in the cause of Christianity ; they were *in heaviness through manifold temptations, exposed to fiery trials, and made partakers of Christ's sufferings.* The Churches of Macedonia, *had a great trial of affliction.* The Church at Thessalonica, had *persecutions and tribulations ; and the members became followers of the churches of God in Judea, and suffered like things of their own countrymen, even as they had of the Jews.* The Church at Corinth, *endured the same sufferings which the Apostles also suffered.* The apostle John, from Patmos, wrote to the seven Churches of Asia, that he was their *brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom, and patience of Jesus Christ ;* which plainly intimates, that all these Churches either had suffered, or did, at that time, suffer persecution. *Yea, says St. Paul, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.* And all this was chiefly inflicted by the Jews ; but, when Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, they were rendered almost incapable of troubling the Church of Christ.

For some centuries after, the Christian Church waded through a sea of blood, sustaining ten great and dreadful persecutions, under the Heathen Emperors ; besides the less and more transient storms, to which Christians were exposed. It is allowed, says Dr. Lardner, that the Roman emperors did not openly persecute the Christians, till they became so numerous, that the Heathen people were apprehensive of the total overthrow of their religion*. The civil constitution of Rome was founded upon persecuting principles. Tertullian says, there was an ancient de-

* Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. 1. p. 323.

cree, specifying that no Emperor should consecrate a new god, unless he were approved by the senate. And, according to Cicero, one of the standing laws of the Republic was to this effect---That no one should have separately new gods, nor worship privately foreign ones, unless admitted by the common wealth; which he endeavours to defend by saying, That for persons to worship their own, new, or foreign gods, would be to introduce confusion and strange ceremonies in religion; also, That it is the part of a wise man to defend the customs of his ancestors, by retaining their sacred rites and ceremonies.—It is no wonder therefore that Christianity, which was so perfectly contrary to the whole system of Pagan theology, should be viewed with an evil eye; or that when the number of Christians increased, they should incur the displeasure of the civil magistrate, and the censure of the penal laws that were in force against them*.

The *first* persecution was raised by the emperor Nero, A. D. 65, concerning whom, we have the testimony of Tacitus and Suetonius, which, as they were Roman citizens and Heathens, cannot be suspected as false. Nero ordered the burning of Rome, that he might have the honour of rebuilding it more magnificently, and calling it after his own name; to exculpate himself from the odium thereof, he accused the Christians of the crime, and, to induce people to believe him, in a most cruel manner put great numbers of them to death. Tacitus's words are,---Wherefore, to destroy this rumour altogether, Nero furnished criminals, and punished, with the most exquisite sufferings, those whom the vulgar call Christians, and who are hated on account of their crimes. These were made a sport of in their death, being covered with the skins of wild beasts, that they might be torn to pieces by dogs, or nailed to crosses, or covered with inflammable matter, and when the day-light failed, they were burned to give light at night. For these spectacles Nero gave his gardens, and at the same time exhibited there the Circensian games, mixing with the multitude in the habit

* Chandler's History of Persecution, p. 17, 18, 20.

of a charioteer. Hence even towards the criminals and those who merited the severest tortures, commiseration arose, as also towards persons perishing not for the public good, but to gratify the cruelty of one man*. Suetonius says, The Christians, (whom he describes as a people addicted to a new and mischievous superstition,) were also punished with death†. These ancient Historians call Christianity a mischievous superstition; and Tacitus himself expressly affirms, that the professors thereof were universally hated for their crimes; which assertion to some may seem strange, till they consider, that this religion required all men to turn from the worship of idols, and serve the living God.

The second persecution happened under Domitian, about A. D. 90; during which St. John was banished to the Isle of Patmos for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus; and some think about 40,000 Christians suffered martyrdom at that time. Flavius Clemens the consul, a near relation of the emperor, was put to death even in the time of his consulship. His wife Flavia Domitilla, also nearly related to Domitian, was banished to Pandateria. Glabrio likewise, a person of consular dignity, after having fought with wild beasts, was capitally punished. However, this persecution did not continue long, for Eusebius asserts, that by an edict in favour of the Christians, the emperor put a stop to all further proceedings against them‡. Tertullian also affirms, that not being cruelty in perfection, as was his predecessor, the remains of struggling humanity stopped the enterprize; and also adds, made him recall the Christians he had banished§. The edicts of Nero and Domitian were rescinded by the senate||.

The third began under Trajan, A. D. 100. He published no general edict against the Christians, but commanded his officers to suppress all private associa-

* Annal. 15. Tacitus is supposed to have been fifteen years old at the death of Nero, A. D. 67, and therefore may have been an eye-witness of this persecution.

+ Nero, cap. 16. Suetonius flourished in the reign of Vespasian.

‡ Eccl. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 20.

|| Reeves's Apologies, vol. 1. p. 181.

§ Apol. cap. 5.

tions; and this occasioned diligent search to be made after them, and prevented their assembling together. In answer to a letter of Pliny the younger, the Roman governor of Pontus and Bithynia, he ordered, That the Christians should not be sought after, but if accused and convicted of being such, they should be punished; they only were excepted who would deny the name, and give an evident proof of their sincerity by worshipping his gods. Pliny, in his Letter* to the Emperor, exculpates the Christians from being guilty of any crime but that of their religion; saying, Their whole crime or error consisted in this, that at stated times they were used to meet before day-light, and sing a hymn to Christ as God; and bound themselves by an oath not to commit any wickedness. Those Christians who were brought before his tribunal, and resolutely adhered to the faith of Christ, Pliny concluded that their stubborness and inflexible obstinacy deserved punishment, and ordered them to be led away to execution. No doubt but the idol priests, whose office was nearly annihilated, and livings destroyed, would be active in accusing the Christians; and the persecution must have been very severe. In this reign, Ignatius (brought up with the Apostles in his younger years, became the disciple of St. John, and made bishop of Antioch in Syria, A. D. 70,) was carried prisoner to Rome; and as Eusebius informs us, suffered martyrdom in the tenth year of Trajan. He wrote seven Epistles, mentioned by Eusebius, Irenæus, Jerome, and others, which are still extant.

The fourth began A. D. 126, in the 9th year of Adrian's reign, and was continued under the emperor Antoninus Pius, who succeeded to the empire A. D. 138.—While Adrian tarried at Athens, happening to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, he expressed such zeal about the Heathen superstition, that many put the former edicts against the Christians in execution. By this means, the persecution became exceedingly hot; and in consequence thereof, Quadratus bishop of Athens, and Aristides a philosopher in that city, pre-

* 97th of the 10th book of Pliny's Letters.

sented apologies to Adrian, wherein they defended the Christian religion against the objections of its adversaries; and, in confirmation of its divine origin, strenuously urged our Lord's miracles, particularly his curing diseases, and raising the dead. These apologies, which are now lost, together with letters from Serenius Granianus, representing the injustice of the procedure against the Christians, greatly assuaged the emperor's zeal, and made him write to the governors of the provinces, and particularly to Minucius Fundanus, pro-consul of Asia Minor, commanding, That no Christian should be disturbed on account of his religion; and that whosoever accused them without alleging any other crime against them should be punished.—In the second or third year of Antoninus Pius, the Christians were harassed in several parts of the empire, by reason of the former emperors' edicts being put in force against them. On this occasion, Justin Martyr wrote an apology; inscribing it to the emperor, his adopted sons, the senate, and the whole people of Rome; to which he annexed a copy of Adrian's rescript. These, and the informations sent him from different parts of the empire, so impressed Antoninus Pius, who was naturally of a merciful disposition, that he published a letter or rescript in behalf of the Christians, wherein we are told he insinuated that they got the better of their opposers by laying down their lives in support of their cause, and ordered, That no Christian, without being guilty of a crime against the government, should be disturbed. But the emperor, finding that his rescript did not restrain the malice of those who were inimical to the Christians, gave an edict to be published at Ephesus in the hearing of the consul of Asia, ordering among other things as follows: If any shall still proceed to create trouble to one that is a Christian, let him who is indicted be discharged, though he is found to be a Christian, and let the informer himself undergo the punishment. Eusebius informs us, that Antoninus Pius sent his rescripts in favour of the Christians to the following cities by name, Larissa, Thessalonica, Athens, and in general through all Greece. Hence we may

conclude, that in these places more especially, the Christians were numerous, and the persecutions violent. Under this persecution, it is asserted that ten thousand suffered the cruel death of crucifixion.

The *fifth* began in the second year of the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus, A. D. 162. In the first year of this persecution, Justin Martyr published another apology, in which is intimated that he expected Crescens the Cynic, with whom he had been engaged in a dispute concerning the Christian religion, would seize, and have him condemned to death. Eusebius says, Justin actually presented this apology to the emperor. But it neither saved his own life, nor stopped the persecution. For many suffered martyrdom at Rome, and among the rest Justin himself, A. D. 164. However, the sufferings of the Christians did not become general till the seventh year of the emperor's reign, A. D. 168, from which time the persecution is commonly dated. In the seventeenth year of the reign of this prince, the persecution against the Christians continued with great violence in several parts of the world, through the enmity of the people in the cities. What great multitudes of martyrs there were throughout the whole empire, may be concluded from what happened in France, where the persecution was particularly violent: especially at Lyons, and in the neighbouring country; the Christians there being put to death in great numbers, and by the most exquisite torments. At Lyons and Vienna they are celebrated for bearing their sufferings with great patience and constancy: and among the rest, Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, then about ninety years old, who, having suffered many indignities, died in prison.—This persecution raged likewise in the opposite extremity of the empire. Polycarp, who had been taught by the Apostles, and by them made bishop of Smyrna, A. D. 82, was burnt alive in the 100th year of his age, A. D. 166. Ireneus, Jerome, and others, mention an excellent Epistle of his written to the Philippians; this Eusebius has preserved. Celsus now lived, and beheld the sufferings of the Christians in this and other persecutions.

—At length, Melito and Apollinaris having by their apologies addressed the emperor, and many governors of provinces having wrote to him favourably of the Christians, he put a stop to the shocking cruelties, which for several years had been exercised toward them, in all parts of the empire.

The *sixth* happened in the reign of Severus, A. D. 203. While absent in the East, his favourite Plautian, an African, who governed the city in his absence, put many Christians to death. This moved Tertullian to publish an apology inscribed to the senate and magistrates of the Roman empire. About this time a variety of crimes were charged upon the Christians: such as, that they despised the gods whom the emperors themselves worshipped, and who had raised the empire to such a pitch of greatness; that by their impieties they had brought many calamities upon the world; that they worshipped the head of an ass, &c. In his apology, Tertullian demonstrated the falsehood of these, and all other crimes of which they were accused, and showed both the soundness of their faith, and the sanctity of their lives. The effect of this apology was, that the persecution was relaxed, especially on the return of the emperor, who had not countenanced these severities. However, not long after this, Severus himself became very cruel towards the Christians; for in the tenth year of his reign, A. D. 203, he published an edict against them, in which the Jews likewise were included. His pretence for this was, that the Christians were impious persons, who designed nothing but rebellion against the state; and his edicts were executed with great inhumanity. Among many who suffered, were Victor bishop of Rome, Irenæus bishop of Lyons in Gaul, Leonidas, the father of Origen, who was beheaded at Alexandria in Egypt; Potamiæna, an illustrious female and her mother, who, after various torments, were destroyed by the flames; as was Basilides an officer who assisted at their execution.

The *seventh* was raised by the emperor Maximinus, A. D. 236. He was a person of a cruel disposition;

which he showed, as in other things, so by his persecutions of the Christians, who were obnoxious to him, chiefly because they supported his rivals the Gordians. The bishops and ordinary ministers were the principal objects of his fury; for he considered them as the great propagators of Christianity. The severities caused Origen to write a treatise on martyrdom. However, they were short of duration, not so violent as the former persecutions, and raged principally in the provinces where the emperor resided; a little previous to whose death, it is said, that he himself put a stop to the persecution by his rescripts, in which were the following remarkable words:—Whereas of a long time it hath been found, that the Christians can by no means be reclaimed from their obstinacy, therefore the governors of cities are hereby discharged from prosecuting that design (of reclaiming them by persecution) any longer.

The eighth was raised by the emperor Decius, immediately on his obtaining the purple, A. D. 251. This was the sharpest persecution that had hitherto afflicted the Christian Church. Zealous for the cause of declining Paganism, the emperor with grief beheld it undermined by the progress of Christianity, and resolved, if possible, to destroy that rival worship. Besides, he hated the Christians, from spite of his predecessor Philip, who was so great a favourer of them, that some have believed he was a Christian. The persecution raged violently all the time of this short reign, and there was no part of the empire which did not feel its dreadful effects. The Christians were driven from their houses, deprived of their estates, and tormented in their bodies. The instruments of torture made use of against them were racks, wild beasts, scalding wax, sharp stakes, and burning pincers. And now, the laws of nature and humanity being utterly neglected, friend betrayed friend, and brother the brother; nay, children delivered up their parents; so that multitudes were slain by the public executioners, and among the rest the bishops of the more noted cities, who, being remarkable for their station and influence

among Christians, were in all persecutions generally the first who suffered. Nicephorus affirms it easier to count the sands of the sea shore, than to reckon up all the martyrs who suffered under Decius. Great multitudes therefore fled into exile, choosing to be exposed to wild beasts and famine in the deserts, rather than trust the mercy of men who resembled them in ferocity. Among the rest, one Paul of Thebais, a youth fourteen years old, fled into the deserts of Egypt, and took up his residence in a cavern or rock, where he lived a solitary life ninety-eight years, and became the father of the Anchorites or Hermits, and of all such as afterwards practised a mortified life.

The ninth was raised by the emperor Valerian, A. D. 258. The former part of this reign was acceptable to all persons, and among the rest to the Christians, who received many favours from the emperor; but, about the fourth year of it, he was seduced by an Egyptian magician, who represented, that, to render public affairs prosperous, nothing was more necessary than to suppress the Christian worship, so hateful to the gods, and restore the ancient religion. To persuade the emperor and his counsellors to this measure, was not difficult. The Roman common-wealth, they thought, had acquired its greatness under the protection of the gods. They observed, that no stop had been put to their conquests till Christianity began to prevail. In proportion to the spreading of this faith, the calamities had multiplied. They therefore referred the whole greatness of their state to the favour of the gods anciently worshipped; and all its misfortunes to the neglect of the primitive religion, and the prevalence of Christianity. By order therefore of Valerian and his son, the Christians were instantly treated with the utmost barbarity every where. But so far were these severities from having the desired effect, that the Almighty, being displeased with the unprovoked sufferings of his servants, sent from the north more terrible scourges than ever upon the empire. In these calamities the emperor was the principal sufferer; for, after making some resistance, he was obliged to turn

his arms against Sapor, king of Persia, who, before they came to battle, took him prisoner. From this time Valerian was in great misery. Sapor treated him with the utmost indignity, making use of him as a footstool in mounting his horse. At length, after seven years confinement, he deprived him of sight, and put him to death.—Galerius, Valerian's son, who had concurred in the edicts against the Christians, by the pestilences, inundations, famines, and other calamities, which afflicted the empire in his father's reign, was so wrought upon, that, hoping to appease the Divinity, he relaxed the persecution against the Christians, and published edicts in their favour.

The tenth was begun by the emperor Dioclesian, A. D. 303. He, during the course of a prosperous reign, had favoured the Christians for the space of twenty years. But coming to the city of Nicomedia in Bithynia, Cæsar Galerius, who hated the Christians, prevailed on him, A. D. 303, to give orders for demolishing the cathedral church there, built opposite to the imperial palace. A Christian publicly tore the edict, and was punished. A few days after, part of Galerius's palace was destroyed by fire, and the Christians were supposed to be the incendiaries. On this, Dioclesian published an edict, commanding the Christian Churches to be pulled down, their bibles to be burned, those who had obtained any office in the magistracy to be degraded, and the meaner sort to be sold for slaves. But these were only the beginnings of the persecution; for, soon after Dioclesian, with the consent of his colleague Maximian, published an edict, ordering the Christian bishops to be bound with chains, and forced by all manner of torture to sacrifice to idols. This was so rigorously executed, that in no more than the space of one month, it is said, seventeen thousand Christians were put to death, exclusive of the multitudes that were banished. In A. D. 304, Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the purple; the former in Nicomedia, where he named Galerius his successor; the latter at Milan, after having substituted Constantius Chlorus in his place. The new emperors

divided the provinces between them : the former took Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Germany ; the latter had all the rest. Galerius, finding the government of so many provinces too heavy for him, named as Cæsars, Maximinus, his own nephew, by his sister, and Severus. To the latter he gave the government of Rome, Italy, and Africa ; to the former, that of the eastern provinces, reserving to himself the management only of those which belonged to Illyricum and Greece. Constantius in the West by his edicts relaxed the persecution against the Christians ; but Galerius and the Cæsars continued it in the East.—A while after this, Severus happening to be absent from Italy, Maxentius, son of Maximian the former emperor, was himself proclaimed emperor at Rome by the senate and people. He relaxed the persecution in the eighth year thereof. Severus marched against him ; but, when under the walls of Rome, being deserted by his soldiers, was taken and killed. Galerius next marched into Italy ; but, his troops beginning in like manner to desert, was obliged to return. About two years after this, falling sick, he published an edict in his own name, and in that of Constantine, Constantius's son, whom he had kept as an hostage for the good behaviour of his father. In this edict he ordered, That the Christians from thenceforth should be spared, and their churches and meetings allowed them : intreating, at the same time, That they would offer up public prayers for the emperor. On the death of Severus, Galerius had declared Licinius, Augustus, and on his own death, as he had pointed him out as his successor, he was generally acknowledged emperor. Soon after this, Constantine, who had escaped from the East, and whose father was now dead, being invited by the senate and the people into Italy, marched against Maxentius, whom they had formerly made emperor, and defeated him. After the victory, CONSTANTINE DECLARED HIMSELF A CHRISTIAN. This circumstance induced Licinius to allow the Christians in his part of the empire considerable privileges. But Maximinus Cæsar, who governed in the East as his lieutenant,

thinking his station inferior to his merit, proclaimed himself emperor, and revoked them. Licinius, in a great pitched battle, defeated him; on which, he allowed the Christians their former privileges, resolving to try his fortune anew: but was cut off by death before he could execute his designs. Maximinus being now out of the way, Licinius began to alter his behaviour towards the Christians. Openly espousing the cause of Heathenism, he prohibited the bishops from visiting in the houses of the Gentiles, lest in their conversation they might propagate their principles; and soon after raised a violent persecution against the whole Church in those parts. So that, as Eusebius observes, the East and West were like day and night, a dreadful darkness overspreading the former, while the latter enjoyed all the happy sunshine of prosperity. But Licinius's cruelty against the Christians, as well as his treacherous practices with relation to Constantine, brought that prince with a great army out of the West against him; and he was defeated, taken, and after some time put to death. Thus Constantine, being now in possession of the whole empire, put a final period to this persecution, which had continued no less than twenty years; and, as it was the last, being the utmost effort of a dying enemy, so it was the most severe of them all*.

The good effects of persecution are described by Tertullian, in his apology. Give us now what names you please, says he, from the instruments of cruelty by which you torture us; yet let me tell you, when we are thus begirt, and dressed about with fire, we are then in our most illustrious apparel. These are our victorious palms and robes of glory, and mounted upon the funeral pile we look upon ourselves as in our triumphal chariot. O worshipful judges, go on with your show of justice, and believe me, you will be the more just still in the opinion of the people, the oftener you make them a sacrifice of Christians. Crucify, torture, condemn, grind us to powder if you

* This account of the *ten persecutions* is taken chiefly from Macknight's Truth of the Gospel History.

can ; your injustice is an illustrious proof of our innocence, and for the confirmation of this it is, that God permits us to suffer. But do your worst, and rack your invention to torture the Christians, it is all to no purpose ; you do but attract the world, and make it the more in love with our religion ; the more you mow us down, the thicker we rise ; the Christian blood you spill is like the seed you sow, it springs from the earth again, and fructifies the more. That in us which you denominate stubbornness, has been very successful in proselyting the world ; for who has not been struck with this sight, and from thence induced to look into the reality and reason thereof ? And whoever well examined our religion, but came over to it ? And whoever came over, but was ready to suffer for it*?

Several learned men in the first ages of the Gospel appeared in its defence, and their apologies, which were addressed to the emperors, were appeals to the reason as well as humanity of those for whom they were intended. It is indeed probable, says Gregory, in his History of the Christian Church, that some of them were never honoured by the perusal of the emperors. But as they contained facts, of which all might easily be convinced ; as the motives, the sufferings, and the conduct of the persecuted Christians were by these means more extensively known, it is highly probable that they also, among the causes already mentioned, largely contributed to diffuse the truths of the Gospel.

* Reeves's *Apologies*, vol. 1. cap. 50.



A Sketch of the Primitive Christian Church.

What was the Fabric, which was hardly rear'd,
By Aid from Heav'n of Miracles and Grace ;
And faith, and pray'r, and toils, and death of Men,
Whose highest glory was—to see it rise ?
Jehovah's Temple ! founded in his Truth—
Unequal'd project of th' Eternal Mind—
Symmetrical, cemented strong by love,
Adorn'd with beauty of supernal art,
And fill'd with praise, which fragrant shall ascend,
As lasting—as its basis shall endure.

THE word *ekklēsia*, as used by the writers of the New Testament, is applied to the Disciples of Christ in a spiritual sense. It uniformly signifies one assembly or congregation; or such a number of professed Christians as stately met together, for the worship of God, and a participation of the ordinances of the Gospel. Thus we read of the Church at Corinth, Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Theffalonica, and other places. When the members of a family were all Christians, or others joined them in religious worship, they were called the Church in such a one's house. It does not appear that the Apostles ever used the word, to signify a house or building, where the Christians assembled for devotion: neither is it probable that, in the Apostles' days, particular places were set apart, or consecrated for the service of religion, so as to be entirely free from all the common uses of life; for it was not possible that they could meet together but by agreement, in such places, and at such times, as might be most convenient for all, and expose them to the least danger.

Moses instituted the Jewish Church; Christ the Christian: with the prophesying of the former was soon joined the deliverance of Israel from Egypt; and with the ministry of the latter, that of great multitudes from sin and misery. The primitive Christians had the right knowledge of the one only, living, and

true God; also of Christ the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind; and so were distinguished both from the Heathen, and the Jews. The latter did not only reject, but condemned for blasphemy the true Messiah, because he asserted himself to be the Son of God, and equal with him in nature and perfection. The former as they worshipped false gods, called Christians atheists, and their religion, the Atheism, because it militated against the existence of their gods. They attacked it on the ground of novelty, as an upstart religion, but of yesterday; and this charge they urged to make it unpopular, and face it down in the world, that ancient opinions and customs might still predominate. But Christians, in opposition to all the Polytheism in the world, also the malice, power, sophistry, and violent proceedings of their combined enemies, stood firm to this system of doctrines.

These two articles the Scriptures represent as fundamental to Christian communion. *There is but one God*, who hath every natural and moral perfection; such as his eternity, immensity, immutability, omnipotence, omniscience, independence;—and his wisdom, holiness, justice, goodness, truth, and faithfulness.—The former, for the sake of distinction, are called incommunicable; and the latter, communicable, because there are some traces of them in rational creatures; though it is certain that these, in that infinite degree they are in him, are as natural to him, and incommunicable, as those which are usually called so. And there is but one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who gave himself a ransom for all, for a testimony in due time*, viz. of God's abundant love and rich grace to fallen men, and to the truth of his promises. During the Old Testament dispensation it was foretold and promised, that God would send a Redeemer and Saviour to a fallen world, and when he did so, it was a testimony to the truth of his predictions and promises, and the riches of his grace in the accomplishment of them: hence says

* 1 Tim. ii. 5-6.

Zacharias, He hath performed the mercy promised to our fathers, and remembered his holy covenant*.

Christ is the beginning, the author, the founder, and foundation of the Christian Church. St. Paul, when speaking of him in his mediatorial capacity, says, *He is the head of the body, the Church†; of the church of the first-born, which are written in heaven‡;* i. e. of all true Believers, who are members of the invisible Church, or those, among the great body of Professors, who are born of God; to those he is a Head of government, vital influence, and supply. For all these important purposes, the Apostle shows that he is amply furnished, *For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell§.* Again, *For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily||;* i. e. In his human nature, the Deity or Godhead, with all its infinite, incomprehensible, and glorious perfections, dwells really or substantially, and not symbolically, as in the Tabernacle and Temple under the Old Testament dispensation, which were types, shadows, and figures of its dwelling really in him. Hence we see, that there are two natures in Christ, the plenitude of the divinity substantially resides in his human nature; and the everlasting union of these natures is imported in the word *dwells*, which, say several eminent Commentators, signifies a permanent and inseparable presence; not like that which the Prophets experienced; and it is styled by the fathers, *an hypothetical union.*

There is no perfection essential to God the Father, but what is in Christ. As *eternity*; he was not only before Abraham, but Adam; he tells us himself, he existed before the world was made; nay, that *he was set up FROM EVERLASTING¶;* and the prophet Micah declares, *his goings forth have been from of old, FROM EVERLASTING***, or days of eternity:—*omnipotence*; the works of creation, providence, and redemption, the resurrection of the dead, with other things which Christ hath done, loudly proclaim him to be the Almighty:—*omnipresence* or immensity; *no man hath*

* Luke i. 72.
|| Col. ii. 9.

† Col. i. 18.

‡ Heb. xii. 23.
¶ Prov. viii. 23.

§ Col. i. 19.
** Mic. v. 2.

ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even THE SON OF MAN WHICH IS IN HEAVEN :—omniscience ; all the churches shall know that I am HE which searcheth the reins and hearts † :—immutability ; Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and today, and for ever‡. If any of the perfections of the supreme God were not in Christ, the fulness, *all the fulness of the Godhead* could not be said to dwell in him, neither could he be *equal with God*§, as St. Paul has asserted. The sameness of essence, is justly collected from the sameness of attributes. This fulness of the Deity possessed by the Son, is what he naturally and necessarily enjoys, by a participation of the same undivided nature or essence with the Father and Spirit.*

In consequence of Christ being both God and man in one person, or in the union of his two natures, divine and human, he is abundantly qualified to be the Mediator between God and us; to *be a merciful and faithful High-Priest, in the things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people*||. For being man, he had something to offer in sacrifice to God, namely, his human nature soul and body, and was thereby capable of making satisfaction in the nature that sinned, which the divine law and justice required. The holiness of his human nature admirably fitted him, to be an atoning Saviour and interceding High-Priest, and very often in the sacred writings an emphasis is put on this; as when it is said, *in him is no sin*¶, that he *offered himself without spot to God***. and we are said to be redeemed *with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot*††. And indeed *such an high-priest became us*, and is altogether proper for us, *who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners*‡‡. And being God as well as man, there is an all-sufficient virtue in all his actions and sufferings, in his obedience and death, to answer what they were designed for, which was to expiate sin. In a word, there is nothing wanting in Christ to

* John iii. 13.

§ Phil. ii. 6.

** Heb. ix. 14.

† Rev. ii. 23.

¶ Heb. ii. 17.

|| 1 Pet. i. 19.

‡ Heb. xiii. 8.

¶ 1 John iii. 5.

†† Heb. vii. 26.

render him a complete Saviour, *able to save to the uttermost all that come to God by him**.

There is, in Christ Jesus our Lord, a dispensatory communicative fulness; to be dispensed to Believers, according as their exigencies require while in this world, and, in proportion to their faithfulness in service and progress in holiness, in heaven. He is said to be *full of grace and truth†, and of his fulness all Believers receive, and grace for grace‡*; i. e. all kinds, every measure, and every supply of grace, that is necessary.

But more particularly: there is in Christ a fulness of the Spirit. *And lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth§.* The Holy Spirit is but one person, but he is in this passage called *seven Spirits*, as he is in other places of the Revelation, because of the perfection of his gifts and graces. *The Spirit of wisdom and understanding, of council and might, and of knowledge||, rests upon Christ.* He is *anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows¶*; i. e. above any of the sons of men, who are made partakers of the gifts and graces of the Spirit; *for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him**.* All those extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, with which the Apostles were filled on the day of Pentecost, were dispensed by Christ, as the Head of the Church. *Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, said St. Peter, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear††.* When Christ ascended into Heaven, *he received gifts for men‡‡*, and distributed them to the Apostles, particularly to qualify them for their extraordinary work and service. St. Paul says, *He ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things. And he gave some, Apostles: and some, Prophets: and some, Evangelists: and some, pastors and teachers; for*

* Heb. vii. 25. † John i. 14. ‡ John i. 16. § Rev. v. 6. || Isa. xi. 2.
¶ Psa. xlvi. 7. ** John iii. 34. †† Act. ii. 33. ‡‡ Psa. lxxviii. 18.

*the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ**. And he hath in all ages since, in some degree, been bestowing gifts on men, to qualify them for the work of the ministry, and for the edifying of his body the Church; and *the residue of the Spirit† is with him.*

There is in Christ a fulness of Gospel blessings. All the promises of the new covenant *in him are yea, and in him amen‡*; on which account it is *everlasting, well ordered in all things, and sure*. The dispensation or communication of the benefits of it is committed to him, and therefore Believers are said to be *blessed with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ§*. And these come to us in a very surprising manner; even through his *being made a curse for us, that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles, through Jesus Christ||*. By his perfect obedience, and atoning death, he fully satisfied divine justice, magnified the law and made it honourable, with which God is well pleased. Though all, by nature and practice, are in a state of guilt and condemnation, yet in Christ there is made a full and blessed provision, for our deliverance and salvation. The atonement is equal to all our guilt, and sufficient to procure full remission. *Through Christ is preached to us the forgiveness of sins¶. God hath set him forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past***. For Christ's sake God forgives sinners all their trespasses; to him all who are enlightened, awokened, and penitent, are directed to apply for pardon; and, on their believing, he will bestow it, without any consideration of their works; and they shall be *justified from all things, from which they could not any other way††*. And *blessed is that man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity††*. If there be a blessed man in the world, it is he whose sins God hath pardoned: sin lays

* Eph. iv. 10—13.

† Mal. ii. 15.

‡ 2 Cor. i. 20.

Eph. i. 9.

§ Gal. iii. 13—14.

¶ Acts xiii. 38.

** Rom. iii. 25.

†† Acts xiii. 39.

†† Psa. xxxii, 2.

the foundation of misery, consequently, in the forgiveness of it, that foundation is destroyed. The blessing of the adoption of children is closely connected with that of justification by faith in the blood of Christ. It springs originally from the love of God the Father, *Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God**; and the enjoyment of it is owing to the redemption that is in Christ, for he came *to redeem them that were under the law, that they might receive the adoption of sons†*. The right, the liberty, the privilege, and dignity of becoming the sons of God, are actually given forth from Christ, to them who receive and believe in him. *As many as receive him, to them gives he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name‡.* So that they who are *the children of God*, are so *by faith in Christ Jesus§*. All the holiness of the saints is in the hands of Christ. He is their *sanctification* as well as their *righteousness||*. The first communication of grace producing new habits in the soul, is from him, or from God through him: as are also the exercise, increase, and confirmation of these. By his abundant grace sin is mortified, subdued, and destroyed, and a holy conformity to God in heart and life increased, perfected, and established: which gives a claim to heaven, not indeed by way of merit, but requisite qualification. *Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God¶.* *Without holiness no man shall see the Lord***.—In short, there is in Christ grace to supply all the wants of Believers, to support them under all burdens, and to carry them safely and comfortably through the howling wilderness of this world, which is often bedewed with tears. He is the *Sun of righteousness††*, the source of all the spiritual light we have, which by degrees increases, *shining more and more unto the perfect day††*.—He is the *fountain of all spiritual life§§*; from him we receive the living principle of grace, and by him it is maintained unto eternal life. *In him are hid all the*

* 1 John iii. 1. † Gal. iv. 5. ‡ John i. 11. § Gal. iii. 26.
 || 1 Cor. i. 30. ¶ Matt. v. 8. ** Heb. xii. 14. ‡ Mal. iv. 2.
 §§ Prov. iv. 18. §§ Psa. xxxvi. 9. John i. 4.

*treasures of wisdom and knowledge**, and from him they are freely communicated to the saints. *In him there is strength†*, to enable Believers to oppose inward evil, withstand every enemy, exercise the various graces of the Spirit, and discharge every duty. Though *without him they can do nothing†*, yet *through him strengthening them they can do all things§*. United to him by faith, and receiving out of his fulness, they shall be *fruitful in every good word and work¶*, and endure to the end of this life of trial.—And as Christ dispenses grace to his followers on earth, so on their departure he receives them into glory. The Gospel record is, *that God hath given to us eternal life: and this life is in his Son¶*. Believers are *heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ***, and in him eternal life is given to them. *Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory††*; which will greatly consist in being *like him, and seeing him as he is††*. At his appearing, the bodies of the saints will be *fashioned like unto his glorious body§§*. and *shine forth as the sun, with brightness and lustre, in the kingdom of their Father¶¶*. And they will be *ever with him¶¶*, in whose presence there is fulness of joy, at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore**.—Thus we see that *Christ is the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all††*. He filleth all the members of his mystical body with all needful gifts and graces, until they are filled with all the fulness of God in glory.

Having particularly noticed that Christ is the Head of his body, the Church, and that there is in him an infinite fulness of all grace for amply supplying all the wants of Believers; we shall proceed to consider the internal operations of the Holy Spirit on the human heart, and the real, gracious, and extensive change produced therein, as set forth in the New Testament, which

* Col. ii. 8. † Isa. xlvi. 24. ‡ John xv. 5. § Phil. iv. 13.
 ¶ Col. i. 19. 2 Thess. ii. 17. ¶ 1 John v. 11. ** Rom. viii. 17.
 †† John xvii. 24. ‡‡ 1 John iii. 2. §§ Phil. iii. 11. ¶¶ Matt. xiii. 43.
 ¶¶ 1 Thess. iv. 17. ** Psa. xvi. 11. †† Eph. i. 22, 23.

will give us more correct views of primitive Christianity, and the Church of Christ. God is great and his works glorious, being the effects of infinite wisdom, power, and goodness. Hence says the Psalmist, *Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord, neither are there any works like unto thy works**. Among the works of nature, that of creation is the most admirable; among those of grace, that of man's redemption and salvation. The latter is the most glorious, chiefly on two accounts, first, because of the active opposition made against it, not only by the rebellious sons of men, headed by the powers of darkness; but likewise from God's vindictive justice, unspotted holiness, righteous and violated law: and secondly, on account of the conspicuous discoveries that are made therein of infinite wisdom, ineffable love, and unmerited goodness. In this work all the Persons in the Divine essence show themselves in the most astonishing and endearing manner; not only to make the fullest display of the glory of the Deity in general, but likewise of each person in the Godhead in particular, that they might be distinctly and unitedly adored by saints and angels for ever and ever. Had it not been for this work, perhaps the wonderful mystery of the Trinity had never been revealed with such evidence, and advantage as now it is. The origin or beginning of our salvation is from God the Father, the execution or purchase of it is by the Son, and the application of it by the Holy Ghost.

The renovation of the heart of a real Christian is expressed in terms which prove it to be the work of God's Spirit. It is called a creation, *Put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness†*. It is emphatically styled a new birth: *Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth†*. *Blessed be the God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again§*. And Believers are said to be born of God, to the exclusion of all other efficient causes, *Who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of*

* Psa. lxxvi. 8. † Eph. iv. 24. ‡ James i. 18. § 1 Pet. i. 3.

*the will of man, but of God**. Our Saviour expressly attributes it to the Holy Ghost, *Except a man be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the Spirit, is spirit, i. e. spiritual†.* In short, none but God by his Spirit can effect this work ; *with men this is impossible*, all moral argument, and the best human endeavours, will fall short ; *but with him all things are possible‡.*

It is remarkably to the purpose in hand, that the Holy Spirit throughout the Scriptures, takes his own denominations from the several names given to the work of renovation, or parts (if the expression may be allowed) of which the new nature consists. *The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance§.* He is styled *the Spirit of wisdom, and revelation||*, of *love¶*, of *meekness***, of *the fear of the Lord††*. Hope is said to be *through the power of the Holy Ghost†††*, and we often read of *joy in the Holy Ghost††††*. Thus the new nature, in its various ways of acting, is expressly attributed to the Holy Spirit, who by his own almighty power effectually renews sinners. When I say, he is the sole Author of this work, I mean not exclusively of the Father, and the Son ; for the three Divine Persons are undivided in all their external works ; but that he is so to the exclusion of men, ministers, and angels.

The Holy Spirit performs this work of renovation in sinners, by a real and immediate efficiency. It has been asserted that conversion is effected by those motives and arguments which the Gospel propounds, and that ministers manage well, when setting them in their true light, to engage their hearers to the exercise of faith, and the pursuit of holiness. But certainly such is the vanity of men's minds, the deep and universal depravity of their hearts, the power and prevalence of sin, and temptations to commit it, that after all the arguments of the Gospel, managed in the most skillful manner by the ablest ministers, proposed in the

* John i. 13. † John iii. 5, 6. ‡ Matt. xix. 26. § Gal. v. 22, 23.
|| Eph. i. 17. ¶ Col. i. 8. ** Gal. vi. 1. †† 1 Th. xi. 2.
 †† Rom. xv. 13. §§ Rom. xiv. 9.

clearest light, and urged with the greatest warmth of oratory, and agreeableness of affection, there is an absolute necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit to change and renew human nature. The best of ministers, nay were angels the preachers, they could no more do it, by all the most cogent arguments in their power, than they could, by these, make the blind to see, or the dead to rise out of his grave.—It is true, the Holy Ghost makes use of the Gospel as the means of his renewing sinners, which is well adapted and sufficient to that end; but still he must by it put forth a real, proper, immediate influence and energy on the soul, in order to its renovation, else it never will be renewed. Hence the Apostle constantly ascribes the whole efficacy of the Gospel, and the ministry thereof, to God, by the Spirit. *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds. Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ**. And to the Thessalonians he says, *Our Gospel* (i. e. the Gospel of Christ preached by us,) *came not unto you in word only, but also in power*, but then he immediately adds, *and in the Holy Ghost*, to assure them that the whole of its efficacy was entirely owing to the Divine Spirit.

The Holy Spirit, in his work of renewing sinners, infuses into them spiritual life. Men are naturally *dead in trespasses and sins*, and therefore in order to their acting in a holy and spiritual manner, a living principle of that nature must be communicated to them. Hence the saints are said to be *quickened*, and inspired with new and divine life. I take grace to be, not, properly speaking, various and distinct habits seated in our minds, but one spiritual principle in the soul, capable of exerting itself, in various modes, after diverse ways, putting forth itself in various operations, or ways of working, according to the variety of objects, on which it is exercised. The principle is one,

* 2 Cor. x. 4, 5.

† 1 Thess. i. 5.

but its exercises, and the objects on which these terminate are many and various and sometimes the same object, considered under different relations, gives different denominations to the actings of this implanted principle.

The Holy Spirit first convinces sinners of their crimes, then impresses them with a piercing sense of their guilt, shews them the demerit of sin, and that *its wages is eternal death**. He further makes them sensible, of the absolute impossibility of their contributing, in the least degree, to their recovery out of this miserable condition. Hereupon they are brought to cry out with the Jailor, *What shall we do to be saved?* On their making this inquiry, the Holy Spirit discovers Christ in his suitableness, ability, and tenderness, as equally able and willing *to save to the uttermost, all that come to God by him*. Such important, seasonable, and encouraging discoveries, beget in them a resolution to look for salvation no other way, than through the merits of Christ, on the sole ground of his atonement and satisfaction. In a diligent use of all the means of grace, and *through the faith of the operation of God†*, they obtain pardon, are accepted in the Beloved, and enjoy divine peace.—Now the mind of the Believer is renewed by the Holy Ghost, and enabled to discern spiritual things in a pleasing and affecting manner. The will is conformed to the will of God; his language is, *Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?‡* The affections are elevated, and *set on things above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God§*.—Though the soul is the first proper subject of this renovating principle, yet the body also partakes of its renewing influence, and all its members become instruments of righteousness unto God||. In short, it entirely changes the nature; therefore the Apostle prays for the Thessalonians in these words, *The very God of peace sanctify you wholly: and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ¶*. This divine

* Rom. vi. 23.

† Col. iii 1, 2.

‡ Col. ii. 12.

|| Rom. vi. 13.

¶ Acts ix. 6.

¶ 1 Thess. v. 23.

principle leaveneth the whole lump, the whole man ; infuseth itself as far as the infection of sin had spread, and rectifies and sets right all the powers and faculties of man, into which sin had introduced disorder and deformity ; so that he is transformed by the renewing of his mind, that he may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God*.—This spiritual life in the soul, is the powerful spring of new actions,---actions, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. *We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them*†. Should any one say, Can an unregenerate, unrenewed man do no good action nor work ? I answer, he may do many works that are materially good, being things that are commanded of God, and for which he may be rewarded with temporal blessings : but nothing is more certain than, that he can do no work that is spiritually good, that God will be pleased with, and reward with eternal life in Heaven, for want of a principle of Grace in his heart, by which alone such can be performed. *They that are in the flesh cannot please God*‡, because they want faith, which worketh by love§, is the evidence of things not seen||, productive of holiness, and without which it is impossible to please God¶.

Having considered the spiritual state of the Church, we shall now attend to its positive institutions and external rites. Something of this sort seems necessary in religion, both for continuing and propagating the profession thereof, and conveying its doctrines and principles with a stronger and more lively impression into the minds of men.—But the rites and forms of most of the religions which have been in the world, instead of advancing true piety, have unhappily had, either no relation to that purpose, or been the means of defeating it. This is notoriously true of the religious rites of the Heathen, many of which (being of their own invention) were foolish and ridiculous, and

* Rom. xii. 2.
§ Gal. v. 6,

† Eph. ii. 10.
|| Heb. xi. 1.

‡ Rom. viii. 8.
¶ Heb. xi. 6,

several of them evidently impious and immoral.—The rites and ceremonies of the Jews, even those that were of Divine institution, though originally well intended, by their multiplicity and great variety, too much engrossed the mind, and engaged the attention of that people, and at last shut out almost all solid piety and goodness from among them; especially after the traditions of the Elders were superadded.—The positive and ritual institutions of Christianity are but few, and these conspicuously show the wisdom and goodness of Christ, in his appointing and enjoining a peculiar observation thereof: they require nothing but what is plain and easy, and contribute to the advancement of real piety and morality, much better than those of any other religion.

Baptism is an institution of our Saviour, to which, though he had no sin to wash away, he submitted, and God owned the ordinance, and made it the season of pouring forth the Holy Spirit upon him. It succeeded in the place of circumcision, and was a seal of the Christian covenant, as that was of the one made with Abraham. It was considered as an initiatory rite, admitting persons to the enjoyment of all the privileges of the Christian religion. The persons baptized were generally adults; but Vossius, Dr. Forbes, Dr. Hammond, and especially Mr. Wall, (who has thoroughly considered the testimony and authority of almost every ancient writer, that has said any thing upon the subject,) endeavour to evince, that infants were baptized even in the apostolic age. The person to be baptized was asked, first, Whether he abjured the Devil and all his works? secondly, Whether he gave a firm assent to all the articles of the Christian faith? to both which he answered in the affirmative. Then the rite was performed; wherein, by being sprinkled or washed with water, in the name of the Holy Trinity, he solemnly gave himself up to God, through his Son, to be governed by the doctrines he taught, in expectation of the strengthening and cleansing influences of that Holy Spirit, whose miraculous gifts proved the truth of the Gospel; and whereby he was, not only obliged to for-

sake all sin, but reminded of the necessity of inward purity, in order to present and future happiness. In the earliest ages of the Church, there was no stated time nor place for this purpose: afterwards, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Epiphany, became solemn seasons, to which the ordinance was confined, except in cases of necessity. On a person receiving baptism, he had given him a white garment, to denote his being washed from the defilements of sin; from which custom, the feast of Pentecost came to be called WHITSUNDAY, i. e. *White Sunday*. This garment was afterwards preserved by the Church, that it might be an evidence against him, if he violated or denied that faith which he had owned in baptism.

The *Lord's Supper* is a positive institution, the beneficial design of which is obvious. It was highly expedient, that so great a transaction as the death of the Son of God should be kept in a lively and perpetual remembrance. Breaking the bread, and pouring out the wine, assist the partakers thereof more clearly and affectingly to discern the Lord's body, in a state of suffering: and the frequent eating and drinking, in commemoration of his death and love, tend to excite and establish their faith of the Gospel; (the truth of which he confirmed with his blood;) their love and gratitude to the Redeemer; their abhorrence of sin, which he died to put away; a just contempt of the honours and pleasures of the world, in comparison of the honour of God, and the good of mankind; an undissimbled love to each other, for them the common Saviour died; a desire to press on towards the perfection of holiness, and reach such a measure of it, as is worthy the design of his death. These things are of so great importance in the Christian life, that they prove the Lord's Supper a wise and gracious ordinance, and well adapted to promote the ends designed.

The *Gospel-ministry* is an excellent part of the Christian institution; ministers are an order of men whose peculiar business it is, to perform in the best manner the public offices of religion; to study more exactly its great truths and rules; to repre-

sent them in the clearest and most affecting light to others, and excite them to believe in and practise every evangelical command. The origin, design, and duration of the Gospel-ministry, are set forth in a passage already quoted. It was instituted by the Lord Jesus Christ, *He gave some, Apostles: some, prophets: some, evangelists: and some, pastors and teachers: .the purposes or ends for which he gave them, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and for edifying the body of Christ: and concerning its duration, it is to be continued, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.* This is a divine and established appointment, provided for enlightening the world throughout all generations. *Lo, said our Saviour concerning his own ministers, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world**. The advantage of this institution is so evident, that it is almost unnecessary to say any thing to illustrate it: for if public worship is a duty, as'most certainly it is, for the preservation of the knowledge and profession of Christianity in the world, for the fixing of deep impressions of its doctrines and precepts in the minds of men, and for the promoting of mutual esteem, friendship, and love among Christians, there must be persons appointed, to perform the public parts thereof. The circumstances of mankind require this office: to instruct their ignorance, help their weakness, oppose their evil propensities, rouse their attention to duty, and assist them in, and encourage them to the practice thereof. Had ministers of the Gospel, generally taken care to be duly qualified with grace and gifts for their employment, kept close to, and diligently discharged it, their greatest enemies must have acknowledged the usefulness of their function. For it is easy to discern, that all the clamours against them are on the account of their inability for the work, their neglecting it, or the immorality of their lives.—However, we should

* Matt. xxviii. 20.

be thankful to our Lord Jesus Christ for favouring us with so necessary and useful an institution, and endeavour to improve it to our own spiritual advantage. St. Paul mentions it as a great instance of the Divine favour and goodness. *All things, says he, are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry as the great means of discovering, offering, and bringing to effect, this reconciliation**.

And lastly, the institution of the *Christian Sabbath* is deserving of our attention.—When God had made the world, and furnished it with a variety of creatures, suited to the different elements of which it was composed, he last of all created Man after his own image, (endued with reasonable faculties,) whom he therefore constituted lord over them, that, viewing and admiring the works of creation, he might thereby be raised to adore the great and beneficent Creator.—Of Man thus created, and situated in a world beautifully adorned, and plentifully stored with all things necessary and delightful, he exacted a reasonable service, which consisted in the worship of himself, the one only true God, in celebrating the displays of his almighty power, infinite wisdom, and ineffable goodness, in all his wonderful works.—And he seems to have prescribed and set apart a portion of time, for the more immediate and solemn exercise thereof: by the constant and regular observation of which, a just sense of his adorable perfections, the remembrance of his astonishing works, and the true worship of him, might be retained in the world.—But when, through the iniquity and idolatry of succeeding generations, this particular stated time for religious service, became forgotten, and divine worship neglected by the generality of mankind, he then revealed and instituted a religion, appointed the manner of worship to be used in it; and, by a special law, fixed a stated time, for the more particular exercise thereof, also to be a criterion of the worshippers of the almighty Creator of all things. The day thus appro-

* 2 Cor. v. 18.

priated and consecrated was called the Sabbath, on account of the Rest required to be strictly observed thereon, and a command to all to observe and sanctify it.

From the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, the seventh day of the week was the Sabbath; ever since, Christians have observed the first day of the week. If there be a greater work than that of creation, to be remembered and celebrated, it tends much to the advancing of the glory of God, that a day be appointed for the express purpose thereof. And if *all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father**, then it is expedient that the day, on which he rested from the work of redemption, or, as the Apostle says, *ceased from his own works, as God did from his†*, should be set apart for his honour. The Sabbath was actually changed, by Christ who is *Lord of it‡*, from the seventh to the first day of the week. If any should inquire, when it was that he gave instructions to his Apostles concerning this? we may answer, it was during that interval of time, in which *he showed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs; being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God §*, of which we may reckon the change of the Sabbath to have been one. But if any should reckon this not sufficient, for the confirming our faith therein, let it be considered, that on the first day of the week our Saviour rose from the dead, and it was celebrated as a sabbath, by him and his Apostles, after his resurrection. On this day, the Holy Ghost in a most miraculous manner was poured down upon the Apostles. *And the first day of the week, when the Disciples came together to break bread, i. e., to receive the Lord's supper, Paul preached unto them||*. This was not a private, but a public meeting of the Church; nor was it a day occasionally appointed by the Apostle, but the stated usual time of the Christians meeting together for religious worship. St. Paul had continued there, (at Troas,) seven days; why did not they meet, and he preach to them on

* John v. 23.

† Heb. iv. 10.

‡ Matt. xii. 8.

§ Acts i. 3.

|| Acts xx. 7.

the seventh day of the week, on which he was there, but because it was no longer the Sabbath, but changed to the first day. It was on this Day that the first Christians made their collections for the poor*. The apostle John says, *I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day†.* He gives it this denomination because the Lord Christ had appointed it to be the Sabbath for his followers; which his Church has ever since continued to observe, and has been highly favoured with the Divine presence.

The sacred Historian has recorded the amiable state of the first Christians, who were united in the bond of love. *They continued steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine and the fellowship, and the breaking of bread, and the prayers. And they continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness, and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people‡.* And again, when the Church was greatly increased, *The multitude of them that believed, were of one heart, and of one soul: neither said any of them, that ought of the things which he possessed, was his own, but they had all things common.* Great grace was upon them all, *neither was there any among them that lacked. For as many as were possessors of lands, or houses, sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles feet. And distribution was made to every man according as he had need§.* We do not read of any positive command to do this: it naturally and necessarily resulted, says a late pious and eminent writer, from the degree of love which they enjoyed. Here was a proper Christian Church; possessed of genuine piety, beautiful simplicity, fervent love, and unexampled liberality.

The first blemish that appeared, was the love of money, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira:—then partiality, or respect of persons, among those who had the distribution of the money; largely supplying those of their own nation, while the other wi-

* Cor. xvi. 1, 2. † Rev. ii. 10. ‡ Acts ii. 41—37. § Acts iv. 32—35.

dows, who were not Hebrews, were neglected in the daily administration*. Hence there arose in the Grecians a murmuring among them; not only discontent and hard thoughts, but unkind expressions. Some time after, the Christians were perplexed and agitated by means of some who zealously contended for the ceremonial law, till the first synod at Jerusalem put an end to the spreading evil.—Among the Christians at Corinth, strong animosities and bitter contentions took place, respecting the abilities and usefulness of ministers; and some had fallen into gross vices.—And from the Apostolical Epistles, and writings of the Christian Fathers, it is easy to see how *the enemy sowed tares among the wheat, and the mystery of iniquity did work.* This is not more than might be expected, considering the vast multitudes that embraced the Christian faith. Yet among the Christians there certainly was a very large number that adorned their religious profession, in their life and conversation. Whatever were the defects of some, Christianity remained the same, and the sins of Christians should be attributed to their want of piety, and not to the religion which they profess.

Thus previous to the reign of Tiberius, we learn, that there was no religion in the world to oppose that of the Jews, and the idolatry of the Gentiles, but both were enjoyed unmolested. Judea was the country which gave birth to our Saviour; and the scene of his ministry, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension. From that time, in all kinds of books, Christians are mentioned, also their opinions, and numbers, with their endeavours to subvert the established religions, the persecutions they endured on that account, and the general establishment of their faith throughout the Roman empire. The origin, progress, and state of Christianity in the first ages, are facts supported by indisputable evidence;—national records, public monuments, and historical veracity.

The glorious triumph of this holy religion, on its first promulgation, is a convincing evidence that it is

* Acts vi. 1.

from God. The Apostles, destitute of the advantages of birth, education, and fortune,---without secular terrors to affright, pecuniary rewards to bribe, or dazzling eloquence to enchant,---armed with nothing but faith, truth, and goodness,---encountered the power of princes, the bigotry of priests, the learning of philosophers, the rage of the populace, and the prejudices of all ; and were honoured with amazing success ! All the literary acquirements and sarcasm of the Greeks and Romans were employed to ridicule the Gospel, and prevent its progress ; and the potentates of the earth drew the sword against it, and armed their legions for the destruction of the professors thereof, but without accomplishing their designs : which evidently argues an extraordinary interposition of God.---Had the infidel wits of the present age seen the Apostles, when entering on their arduous and unexampled labours, they would have derided the attempt, and said, as Sanballat did, long before, *What will these feeble Jews do ?** but had they seen the event, surely they must have owned, with the Egyptian Magi in a less illustrious miracle, *This is the finger of God.**

It is a distinguishing instance of the Divine goodness towards us, that we live under this last and most gracious dispensation to mankind : which affords greater assistance for living a pious and holy life, than was ever given under any former one. Our Saviour told his Disciples, that the ancient patriarchs, and prophets, and other holy men had earnestly desired, and would have greatly rejoiced, in those clear and important truths, which he made known to the world †. But it pleased God to reserve them, as peculiar blessings, for those who should live after the coming of his Son, and the promulgation of the Gospel.---Every assistance, for superior attainments in religion, carries with it an obligation to improvement ; and requires suitable returns of gratitude, love, and obedience.

As Jesus Christ, in his mediatorial character, is invested with all power, we may justly conclude, that he will ever maintain his government ; the beneficial effects of which shall be fully answered, notwithstanding

* Neh. iv. 2.

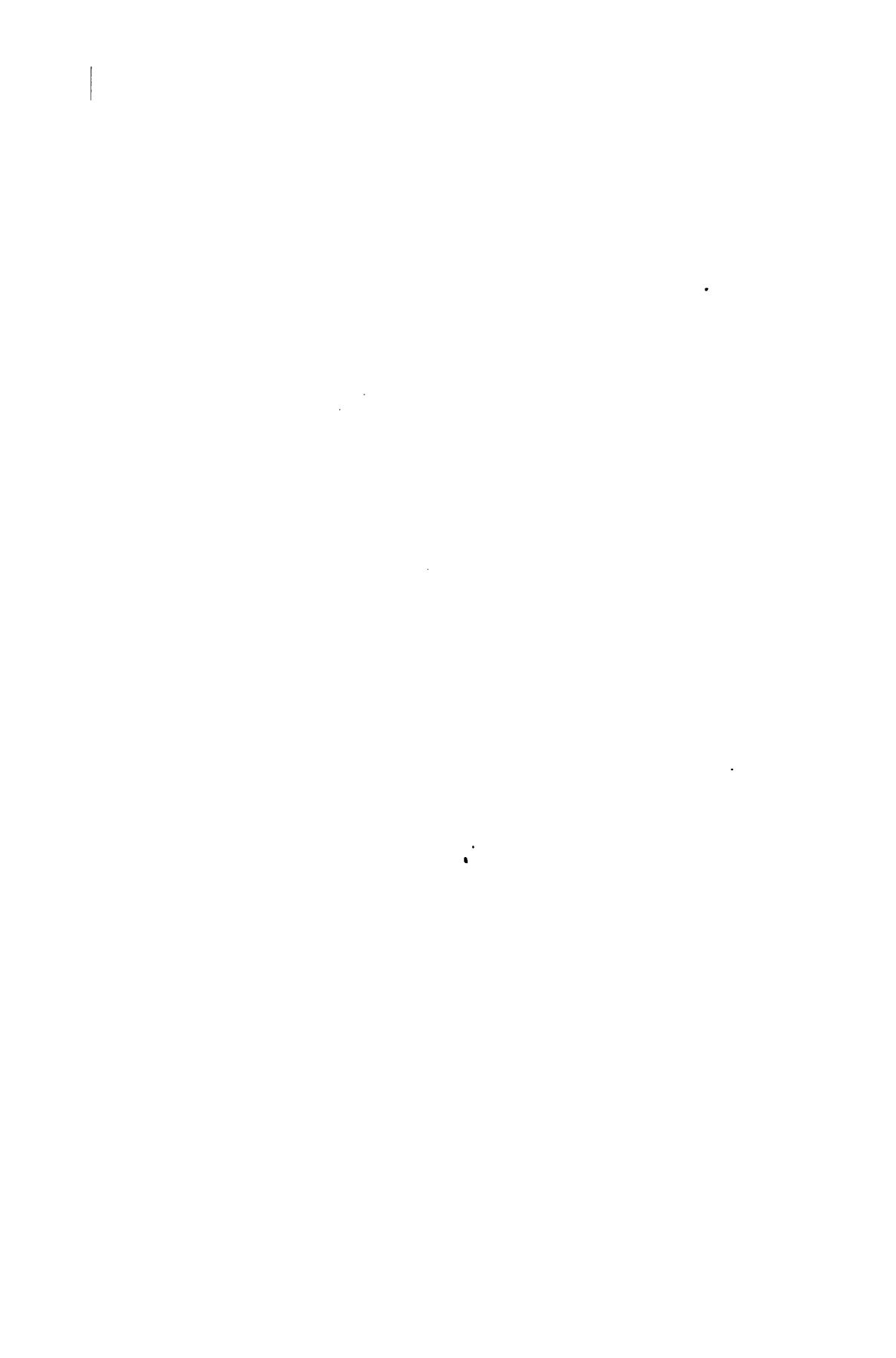
† Exod. viii. 19.

‡ Matt. 13. 17.

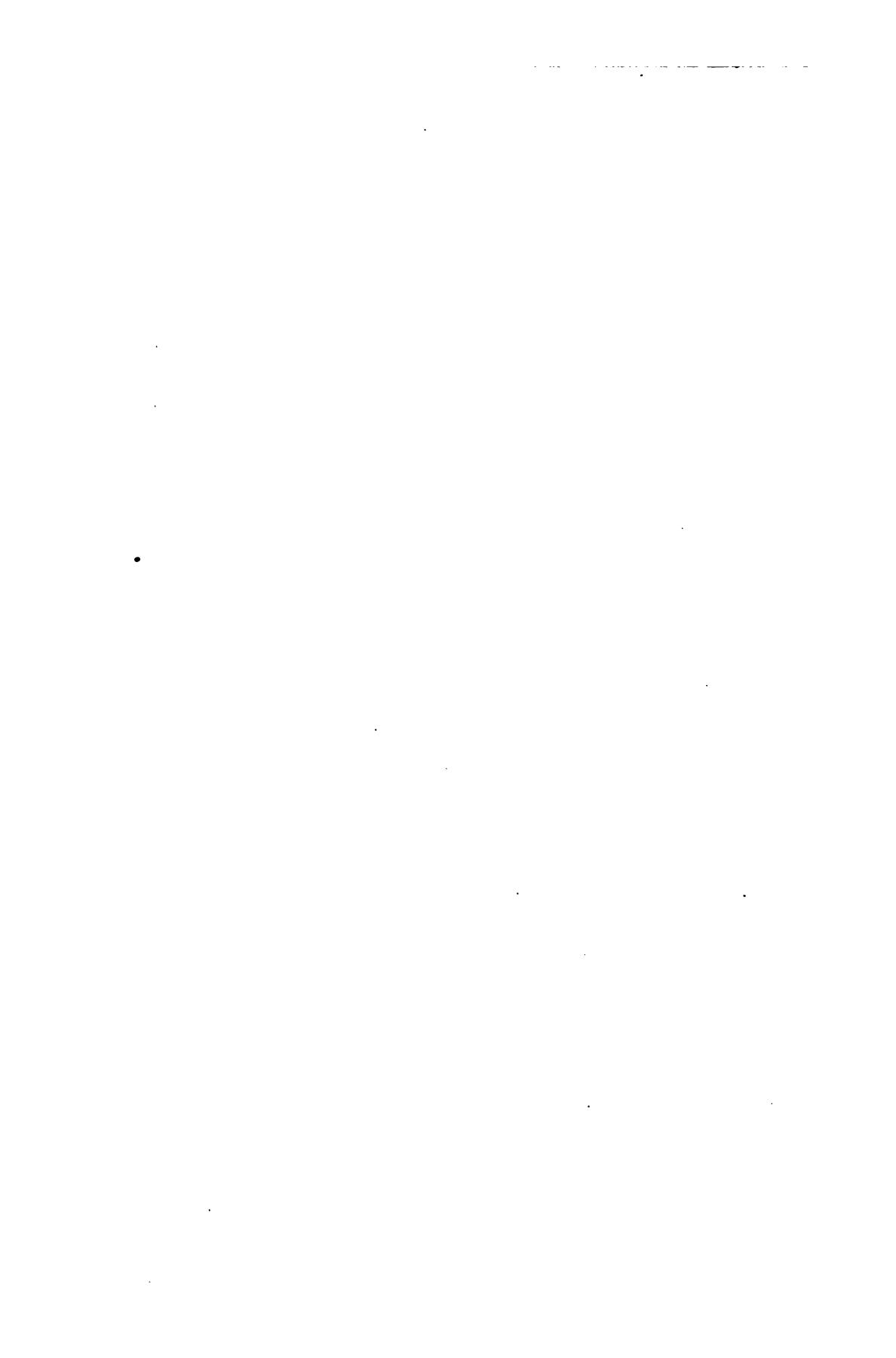
the utmost opposition, which the policy, malice, and rage of his enemies can possibly raise against it.—The efforts of infidels, to oppose and suppress the Gospel, will end only in their own confusion and overthrow ; while Divine truth shall prevail, until all nations shall be subdued by its power, and filled with its radiancy. As ministers are the chief instruments for accomplishing its benevolent designs, it is very gratifying to see them living in its spirit, zealous for its interest, diligent in their high vocation, and successful in winning souls. The Spirit of faith, love, and holy animation is poured out from on high ; and in various parts of the earth the Gospel is victorious over all the opposition raised against it. And soon all the chaff of mere human impositions shall be swept away, the spirit of party and rancour die, Christians come nearer each other in love, infidels lay down their worn-out weapons, nations, on the basis of piety, friendship, and commerce, forget their political feuds, *and the Lord be one, and his name one.* *The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert rejoice, and blossom as the rose : they shall see the glory of the LORD, and the excellency of our God.* *The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.*

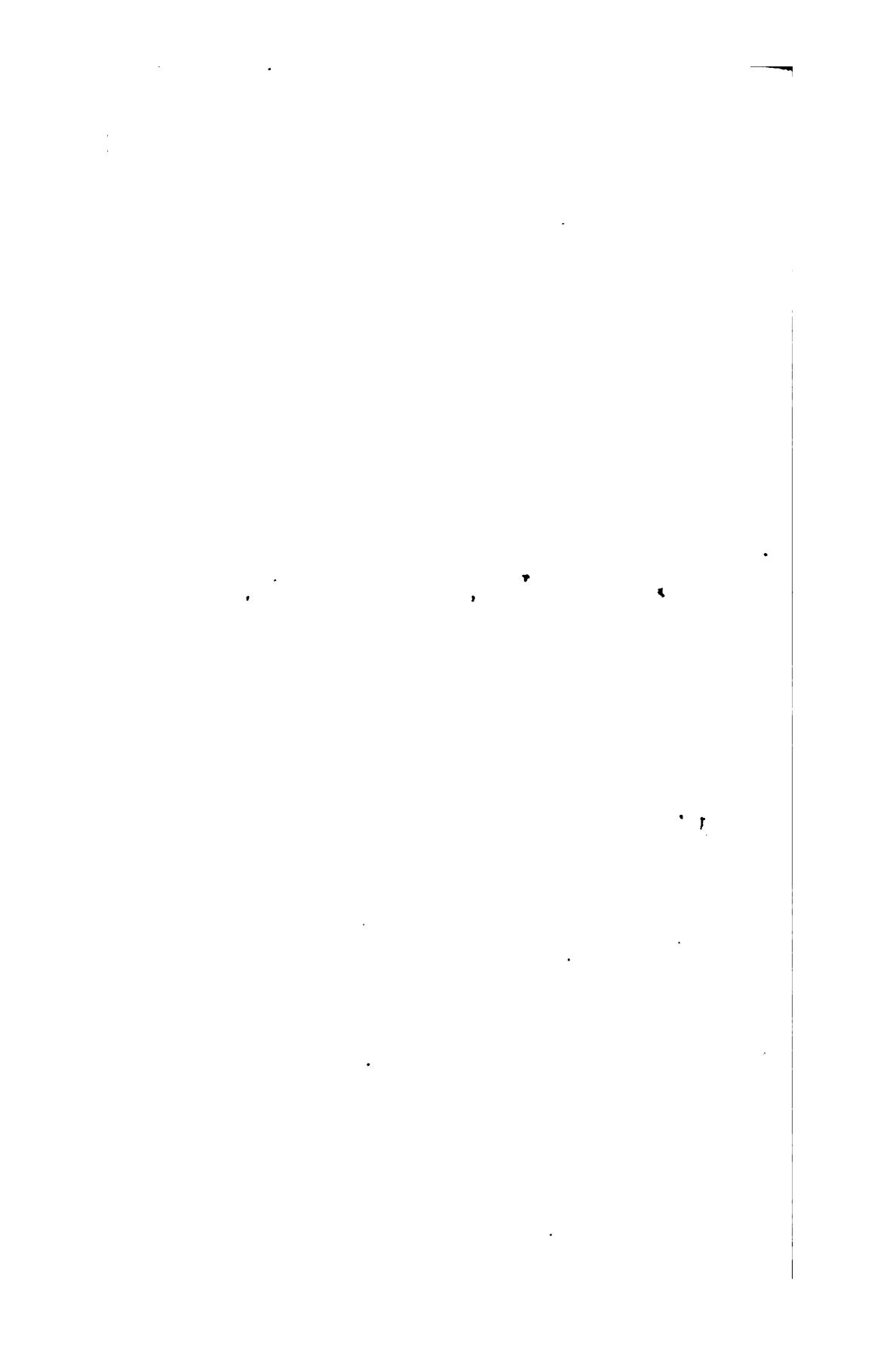


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